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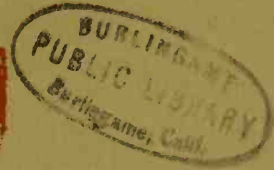
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DONALD C. BIGGS, *Director and Editor*

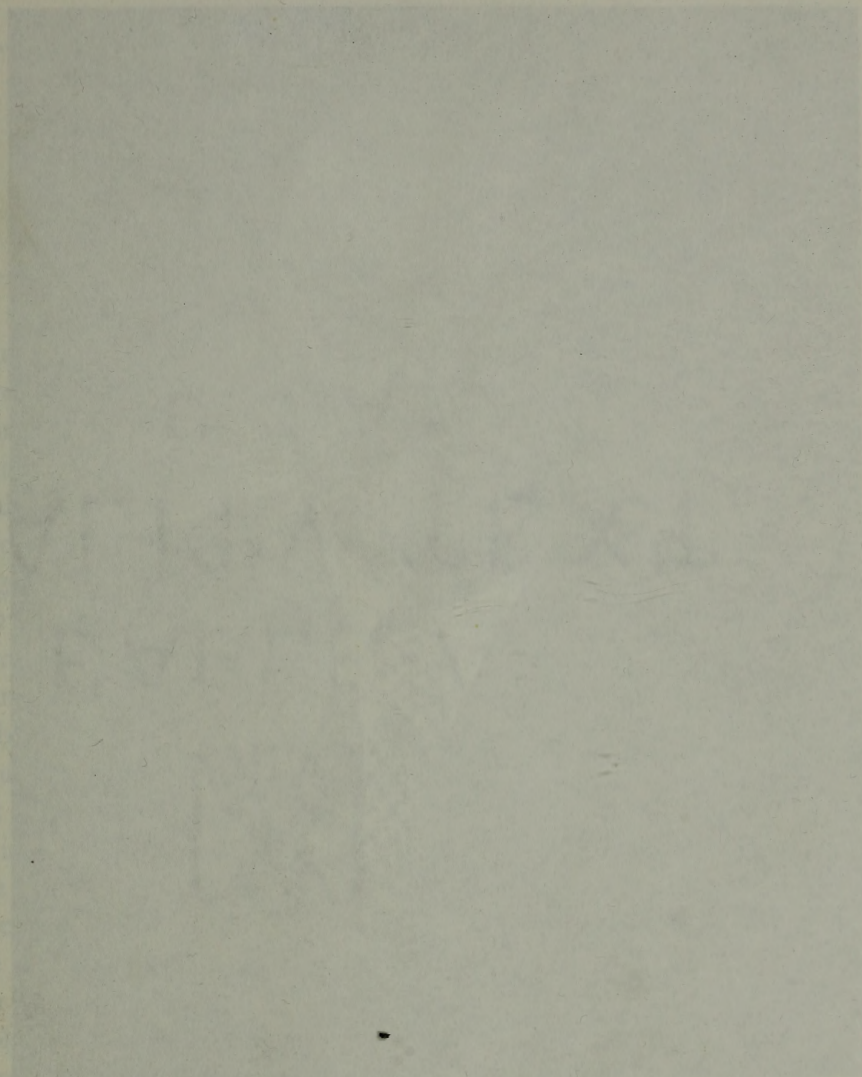
Vol. XXXVII

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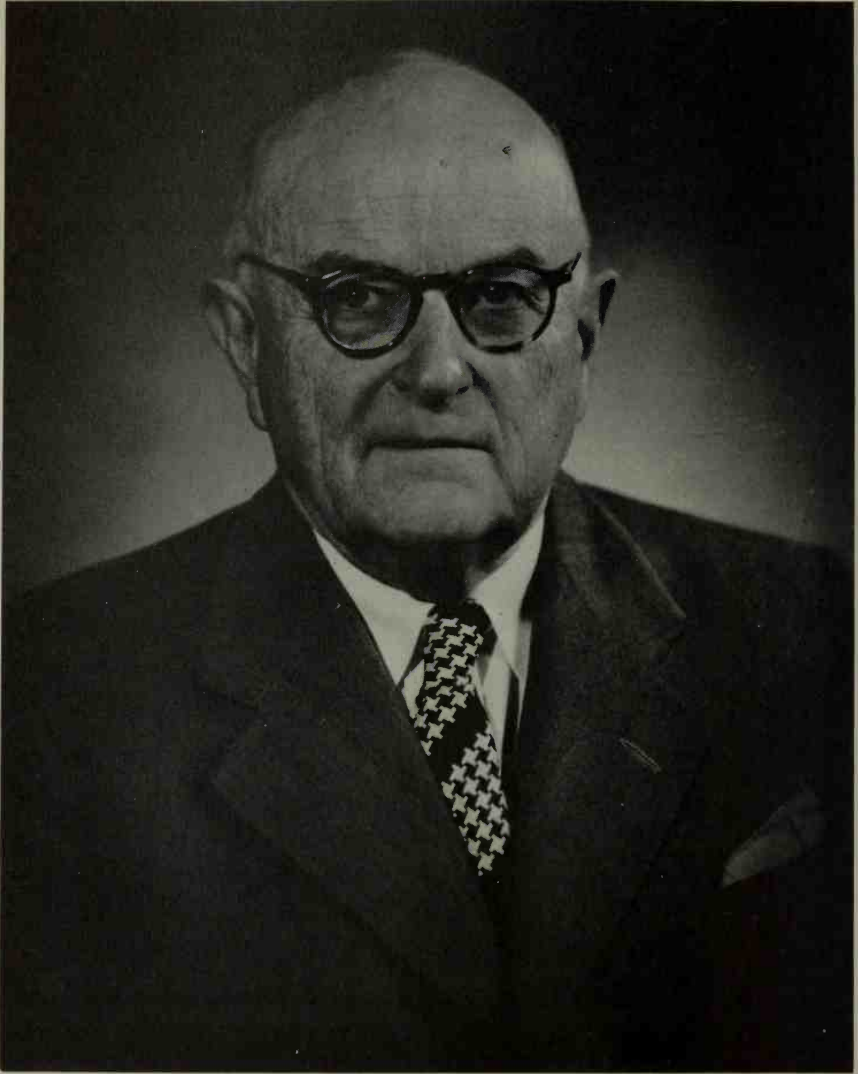
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Elmer Lawrence (Ch. 10000)



Allen Lawrence Chickerling
1877 - 1958

The American Consulate in California

Documents Relating to Its Establishment

Edited by HENRY P. BEERS

WHILE SEARCHING the file of Applications and Recommendations in the records of the Department of State in the National Archives for material relating to territories of the United States, I found several of the accompanying documents. Realizing that these applications antedated the actual commencement of the American consulate at Monterey, Upper California (Mexico), I checked in the commission books and the outgoing letter books to ascertain whether any of the applicants had been given appointments and found that they had. I then looked into the secondary history books and learned that all they have to say is that the American consulate at Monterey was established with the appointment of Thomas Oliver Larkin as consul. The principal work, however, does give a list of earlier appointments, which was supplied by the Department of State.¹

It is interesting to note that for ten years before Larkin opened his office at Monterey in 1844 the United States Government had sought unsuccessfully to station a consul at that port. Successive applicants were given the appointment, but for one reason or another not one of them reached his station. They all desired the post as an aid to getting established in the country, but their plans changed or death intervened before they could reach that distant region. The documents and their appended notes contain all of the information which has been found concerning these men.

At the time Larkin undertook his duties as consul at Monterey, he had been a resident of that place for twelve years. A native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1802, he was obliged because of the early death of his father to support himself. He first tried the bookbinding business in Boston, but gave that up in 1821 and moved to North Carolina where he engaged in various businesses at Wilmington

and other places. He returned to Boston in 1830, but embarked from there for California in September, 1831. Arriving at Monterey in April, 1832, he worked for a time for his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, a former sea captain turned merchant. He soon opened a store of his own, and followed it with a flour mill, a lumber and construction business, and shipment of the products of the country to the Hawaiian Islands and Mexico. At the time of his appointment as consul he had become a prosperous businessman. His actual services in that position ceased upon the American occupation of California in June, 1846, though the consulate was not formally terminated until May 30, 1848, when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was ratified. In the interval and until November, 1848 he rendered confidential reports to the Secretary of State on conditions in California. A volume of his despatches to that official, 1844-1848, in the records of the Department of State is available on microfilm. Copies of these despatches, communications to him from the department, and other correspondence relating to consulate business form part of the collection of his papers in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. Documents from both collections appear in the compilation of *Larkin Papers*, which is cited below.

William Alexander Leidesdorff, a native of the Danish West Indies, moved to the United States when a boy, and, choosing the merchant marine for a livelihood, became a master of vessels sailing between New York and New Orleans. A longer voyage brought him in 1841 to California, whence he made several voyages to the Hawaiian Islands before settling down in San Francisco to engage in trade. Upon a visit to that place in October, 1845, Larkin appointed him vice-consul, and he continued active in that position until the middle of 1846. Upon his death in May, 1848, Leidesdorff left a considerable estate and a collection of papers. Groups of his papers are now in the possession of the Henry E. Huntington Library, which purchased in 1922 500 manuscripts relating to both his personal business and his vice-consular affairs, and in the California Historical Society.

The American Consulate in California

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AUSTIN J. RAINES TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
[NA:SD, Applications:ALS]

Hon, L McLane Secty of State

Phila. 11 Octo 1833

Dr Sir A letter from Conl Benton Senator from Mo, informing me he wrote to you in my behalf²—

I am a trader on the Coast of California and will be a resident of that Coast, Situate at Monterrey for Some years—This is a place of much importance as a port and Considerable trade—from the 1st of November 1831 to 1st of November 32—Thirty four Vessels put in at Said port, of this Number twenty eight were American flags—We want protection a Consul Should be appointed there—and a Ship of war Should visit there at least once per year—I left Monterrey the 11 of March last, and will leave the United States for that port, in all the Month of November—If you think me a fit person for the appointment of Consul I should be glad to receive it—If more letters of recommendation is necessary, I believe I can procure a dozen or two—

I had a Conversation with our Venbl President a few days ago, relative to the protection &c &c but did not mention my intention of applying for the Counsulate of Monterrey—Will you let me hear from you on the receipt of this—

Yours Truly

Austin J Raines of St Louis Misso.

[Addressed] Hon, L McLane Secty of State Washington City [Post-marked] Phil 11 Oct Free

[Endorsed] Raines A. J. Phila Ocr 11. 1833 respecting a Consulate at California Received Oct 14

COMMISSION OF AUSTIN J. RAINES AS CONSUL AT MONTEREY
[NA:SD, Consular Commissions, Temporary]

The President of the United States of America,
To all who shall see these presents, greeting:

October 17, 1833

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the abilities and integrity of Austin J Raines of Missouri I do appoint him consul of the United States of America, for the Port of Monterey in North California in Mexico and such other parts as shall be nearer thereto than to

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be

L. S.

Andrew Jackson

[NA:SD, *Instructions to Consuls*, Bk. 5]

Washington, 17 Oct. 1833.

Mexico. St Louis, Missouri.

Sir, The President of the United States, having appointed you Consul of the United States, for the Port of Monterey &c. Mexico, I have

the honor to enclosing herewith your commission, accompanied with printed circular Instructions, and a blank Consular Bond, which last you will execute and return to this Department, taking care to send a Certificate with it, from the atty. of the United States from the District in which the Sureties reside, Subjoined to the bond, that they are in his opinion Sufficient.³

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obed^t Servant

Louis McLane.

AUSTIN J. RAINES TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
[NA:SD, *Consular Despatches*, Monterey:ALS]

Saint Louis 20 Feby 1834

Hon. L. McLane Secty of State

Dr Sir I am Sorry to inform you that I have never received my Commission as Consul of Monterrey North California, on my arrival at New Orleans, I found on enquiry at the Post Office, that the documents had been Sent from Saint Louis to N. O, and through the neglect of the Post Master at Saint Louis (not altering the direction) Sent again to St Louis, whare they came Safe to hand, but were again Sent to N. Orleans —As it is my intention to leave Saint Louis the first of April for California by land, will you please Send me another Commission, as it will be impossible for me to receive the package by Mail from New Orleans before I leave this place Resp'y

Austin J Raines

[*Endorsed*] (Monterey) St Louis 20. Feby 1834. Recd 7. March [Ditto mark for 1834] Austin J Raines "Monterey" Recd March 7. Has not the nomination of the Consul been recalled by the President at the instance of Mr Benton?⁴

WILLIAM H. ASHLEY⁵ TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
[NA:SD, *Applications*:ALS]

St Louis April 30th 1835

Sir, I have the honor to Enclose a letter addressed to me by Charles Bent Esqre on the subject of a Consul at California New Mexico.⁶ Mr B is a gentleman of high respectability He has been engaged in commercial pursuits in the Mexican provinces for many years, & is perhaps as capable as any other man of Judging of the regulations necessary in

that Country for the promotion of Citizens of the U States transacting business there—

I am not personally acquainted with Mr John Marsh the gentleman recommended for the appointment of Consul but he is represented as a suitable person in all respects to represent the Govt in the capacity of Consul—Should you think it advisable to make the proposed appointment, be pleased to inform me thereof—

I have the honor to be with great respect Yr Obt Servt

W H Ashley

Hon John Forsyth. Secy of State Washington

[*Endorsed*] California—Consulate. Marsh J. recommendd April 30. 1835. Recd May 14 Mr Hunter^s for examination

[*Enclosure: ALS*]

CHARLES BENT TO WILLIAM H. ASHLEY

Hon W. H Ashley

St Louis April 26, 1835

Sir A particular friend of mine Mr John Marsh is desirous to obtain the appointment of Consul to Upper California. He is a gentleman I believe to be every way competent to discharge the duties of that office and in every respect worthy of your patronage.

There are about fifty families in the upper part of this state preparing to emigrate to that country. There are annually a considerable number of vessels from the U. States who visit Upper California for the purposes of commerce, and the U States having a Consul at Monterey or some of the ports on that coast will be a great advantage to our enterprising citizens The commerce of the country is principally in hides, horses, tallow, tortoise-shell, sea otter & specie. The trade in mules & horses has been carried by traders from this state to a considerable extent within the last five years. Commerce no doubt will greatly increase in that country, and having an agent of our govt ther[e] will give our citizens many commercial advantages which they have never yet enjoyed. Respectfully Your. Obt. Servt.

Chas Bent

[*Addressed*] Hon. W. H. Ashley Present

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO WILLIAM H. ASHLEY
[NA:SD, *Domestic Letters*, XXVIII]

Department of State W. 16 May, 1835.

W. H. Ashley Esquire St Louis, Missouri.

Sir, Your letter of the 30th ulto has been received with its enclosure, recommending Mr Marsh as Consul for upper California. It will be in your recollection that a Mr Raines was some time ago, (in 1833,) appointed Consul at Monterey, upon recommendation obtained from St Louis, and that they were afterwards withdrawn, and the Commission revoked.—It is, no doubt, desirable that the United States should have a Consul in California; but, in consequence of the great distance, and the little direct intercourse between the United States and that Country, there is but little opportunity for any supervision, or control over the officers by the Department of State.—

It is important, therefore, that the person appointed should be, in all respects, well entitled to confidence. As Mr Marsh is not known to you, and is entirely unknown to the Department, I should be glad that you would satisfy yourself by further enquiries, whether he is a person of that character.⁹—

I am &c.

Signed=Asbury Dickins, A. Sec.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO WILLIAM P. GILLIAM¹⁰
[NA:SD, *Instructions to Consuls*, Bk. 9]

Department of State

Washington June 22nd 1837

William P Gilliam Esqr apptd U S Consul at Monterey

Upper California—Mexico—

Sir, The President having appointed you Consul of the United States for the Port of Monterey, Upper California, Mexico, I herewith enclose your commission¹¹ with a printed copy of the General Instructions to Consuls & and other documents necessary for your Consulate a list of which is annexed—

As you are not authorised to perform any act as Consul, until you have been recognized as such by the Mexican Government, you will, to avoid delay in entering upon the duties of your office, make immediate application to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for an Exequatur—

I also enclose herewith a blank consular Bond which you will execute and return to this Department, in the manner directed in Art I. Chap. 1st of the General Instructions—You will be expected to comply fully with all the requisitions contained in the General Instructions to Consuls¹²—

I am Sir &c

John Forsyth—

List of Documents enclosed.—

General Instructions—Blank Bond—Forms of Returns & Statement of fees—List of Ministers Consuls &c Ink lines Circulars of 6th & 15th Jany 1834—25th March & 3 Nov 1835—& of 21st Nov 1836.

JONATHAN P. GILLIAM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
[NA:SD, Consular Despatches, Monterey:ALS]

Port of Mazatlan Decr 11th 1837

The Honble John Forsyth Secretary of State of the United States
of America Washington City

Sir Your official letter dated Octr 13th enclosing me the consular commission from the President of the United States,¹³ with the advice & consent of the Senate, for the Port of Monterey in Upper California has just come to hand

The Commission from the President was also received in due course and forwarded to Mr [William D.] Jones U S Consul in Mexico for the purpose of obtaining the exequator: and by yesterdays mail he returned me the Commission without the corresponding exequator accompanied with a copy of a letter dated Octr 23 from Mr Jones to the Minister of Foreign affairs in Mexico and a Copy of a letter Nov. 10 from said Minister to Mr Jones—I omit their correspondence as Mr Jones informs me that he intended to remit the same to the Department of State

I should have departed for Monterey ere this had a conveyance presented itself; such opportunities are rare by sea and the passage by land is next to impossible in consequence of the extremely bad state of the road, the scarcity of water and the vicinity of Savages

I beg leave to inform the Department that from some omission, an error in a part of my name has been committed in extending my commission: instead of William N it should be as is subscribed¹⁴

I have the honor to remain, Sir, Respectfully Your Mo Obed Servt
Jonathan P. Gilliam

[Endorsed] Feb 10th 1838—Monterey

J. T. WARREN TO THE PRESIDENT

[NA:SD, Consular Despatches, Monterey:ALS]

Had Lyme, Conn, Sept 21. 1840

Martin Van Buren President of U. S. A &c &c

Sir Having Since 1831. been a resident of Upper California, Republic of Mexico, and in common with numerous other Citisens of these United States. suffered many inconveniences and some injuries, in the transaction of our business from the local Authorities of that Department which we are disposed to believe would in many if not all cases be prevented if a Consul for that Section or Coast of Mexico was should be appointed by this Government

I am advised that an oppointment in the person of Mr Gilliam for the Port of Monterey was made by this Goverment, but my impression is that the Gentleman does not now reside in California as I have no knowledge of him, at the time of my departure from that Coast (Dec. 24. 1839) I know that no person was acting on or ever had acted as Consul of this Govt on that Coast. The Amount of business transacted by Citisens of the United States on that Coast is of importance & Anually augmenting. And a Majority of the resident Merchants are Citisens of this Govt In this Situation of that Coast permit me in Common with others my fellow Citisens resident Merchants in California respectfully to solicit of your Excelency that if no official advice of the existence of an acting Consul on the Coast of Upper California is in possession of this Government (which if there is one would most assuredly have acted in the Case of those Americans sent from thence to San Blas & Tepic during the past Summer) that one may be appointed I leave for that Coast in October and if this Goverment is desposed to make an appointment would accept the Same, or with pleasure would advise your Excelency of respectable Merchants & other persons residing on that Coast Either American Citisens or Citisens of other Countries who if appointed would be not only of essential service to the Citisens of this Govt residing there but at the same time might furnish this Government

with valuable information respecting the situation and importance of the Coast of Upper Califa & Especially the Bay & Harbour of San Francisco in connection with the Territory of the United States on the Pacific Ocean, and would be able to keep this Government in some measure informed of the motions as well as actions of the British Govt on that Coast of the importance of the Harbour of San Francisco it must be unnecessary for me to inform your Excelency

As I am unknown at the Seat of Government I take the liberty to refer you to the Hon. Saml Ingraham of Essex Conn. for information.

I am Sir Very Restfly, Yr. Obdt Servt J. T. Warren

[*Addressed*] To his Excelency Martin Van Buren President of the United States of America Washington D. C. [*Postmarked*] Lyme Ct Sept 22 Free

[*Endorsed*] Rec. 26 Sept^r Monterey—Refd to the Sect of State¹⁵
M. V. B

THOMAS CARLILE TO LEVERETT SALTONSTALL¹⁶

[*NA:SD, Applications:ALS*]

New York 3^d Feby 1842.

Dear Sir. I am about making a voyage to the Pacific. and desire before leaving to make some definite arrangements to secure a situation at some point on the Coast.—I am aware that Government have Contemplated Sending an Agent to the Port of "San Francisco." and would solicit your influence in obtaining Such [a]ppointment for me.—the proposition has been made by those most largely engaged in the trade. and letters have already been forwarded relative to the Subject—my desire is to obtain the good will of those having influence. and from your long acquaintance and business connection with my family—and knowledge of myself. I have felt less reserve in applying to you.—My knowledge of the Spanish language acquired by a residence of three years in Rio de Janeiro would be of great Service.—and for my business capacity. Mr Benson who takes charge of this. will be able to Satisfy you. Trusting you will pardon the liberty taken and Soliciting your favorable Consideration I remain Your obdt Sert

Thomas Carlile

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall Washington.—

[*Addressed*] Hon. Leverett Saltonstall Washington. D. C. [*Post-marked*] New-York Feb 5

[*Endorsed*] Consulate—San Francisco, California. Carlisle T. applies, '42. Th. Carlile Feby 3^d

COMMISSION OF THOMAS CARLILE AS UNITED STATES CONSUL
AT SAN FRANCISCO

[*NA:SD, Commissions of Consuls of the U.S., Permanent, Vol. 3*]

The President of the United States of America, [March 10, 1842]
To all who shall see these presents Greeting:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the abilities and integrity of Thomas Carlile of New York, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,¹⁷ do appoint him Consul of the United States of America, for the Port of San Francisco, in California, and such other parts as shall be nearer thereto than to the residence of any other consul or vice-consul, of the United States, within the same allegiance; and do authorize and empower him To have and to hold the said office, and to Exercise and enjoy all the rights, preeminences, privileges and authorities to the same of right appertaining, during the pleasure of the President of the United States, for the time being: He demanding and receiving no fees or perquisites of office whatever, which shall not be expressly established by some law of the said United States. And I do hereby enjoin all Captains, Masters and Commanders of ships and other vessels, armed or unarmed, sailing under the flag of the said States, as well as all other of their citizens, to acknowledge and consider him the said Thomas Carlile accordingly. And I do hereby pray and request The Government of The Mexican Republic, Its Governors and Officers to permit the said Thomas Carlile fully and peaceably to enjoy and exercise the said office, without giving, or suffering to be given unto him, any molestation or trouble; but, on the contrary, to afford him all proper countenance and assistance; I offering to do the same for all those who shall in like manner be recommended to me by the Said Government.

In Testimony Whereof, I have caused these letters to be
 [L.s.] made Patent, and the Seal of the United States to be here-
 unto affixed. Given under my hand, at the City of Washing-
 ton, the Tenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand
 eight hundred and forty two and of the Independence of the United
 States of America the sixty sixth.

John Tyler,

By the President,

Daniel Webster, Secretary of State.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THOMAS CARLILE

[NA:SD, *Instructions to Consuls, Bk. 11*]

Department of State

Washington March 17th 1842.

Thomas Carlile Esqr apptd U. S. Consul for the Port of San
 Francisco. California

Sir, The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,
 having appointed you Consul of the United States for the Port of San
 Francisco, California, I herewith enclose a printed copy of the General
 Instructions to Consuls &c and other documents for the use of your
 Consulate a list of which is annexed. also a blank bond which you will
 execute and return to this Department, with a certificate subjoined of
 the District Attorney of the United States for the District in which the
 Sureties reside, that they are sufficient, as required by Art: 1st of the
 Instructions.

Your Commission will be transmitted to Mr [Waddy] Thompson,
 the Minister of the United States at Mexico, with instructions to apply
 to that Government for an Exequatur in your favor, and when obtained
 to forward it with your Commission, addressed to you at San Francisco.

Immediately upon your arrival, you will inform the proper Authori-
 ties at San Francisco of your appointment, and if you can obtain their
 consent to your acting as Commercial Agent, before the receipt of your
 Exequatur, you are authorised to do so, but you are not to perform any
 act as Consul, until your Exequatur has been granted.

It is highly important that you should make yourself well acquainted

with the General Instructions, and fully comply with all the requisitions contained in them.¹⁸

I am Sir &c

Daniel Webster—

Documents enclosed. Bond. General Instructions—List of Ministers, Consuls &c Circular of 2^d May 1838, 1st April & 30th July 1840 & 17th November 1841. Forms of Returns & Statemt of Fees. Ink lines.¹⁹

STEPHEN SMITH TO EBENEZER L. CHILDS²⁰

[NA:SD, Applications:ALS]

E. L. Childs Esqr

Balto March 29th 1842.

D Sir In consequence of my being absent, yours of the 2^d inst, was not received until yesterday. I am happy to Say that I am well acquainted with your brother Thos O. Larkin, and also, that I consider him competent, and worthy of the Consulate of the U. S. in upper Calafornia. I also consider that there is great necessity of a Consul at Monterey, the only port of etree on the Coast of Calafornia, I have been master of a Ship for more than thirty years, and am confident, that I know, the duty of a consul, and do not hesitate to say, that I know of no man, more competent to fill the office than your brother, and as I am constantly trading to that coast, it would give me great pleasure to see him appointed to the Consulate of upper Calafornia.

Should you see the Hon Secretary of State, I wish him to know that we want a Consul at Valparaiso. Geo. Hobson Esq who was a long time consul at that port has joined a large commercial house, and has appointed his brother, Consul, who is a mere boy, and can know nothing of his duty, by which we often get into dificulty, in this case I would reccomend to his exellency, Capt. Edward L. Scott, a most respectable American Citizen residing in that port, there has been a large and respectable certificate sent to the President in his behalf from his friends in Charleston, S.C.

I have no interest in the matter farther than the good of my countrymen who trade on the coast I shall sail in about two weeks in the Barque Geo. & Henry, the vessel and most of the Cargo my own. I shall touch at all the ports in Chili and Peru, and from thence to Cala-

fornia, and shall be happy to take letters or any thing you wish to send on to your friends on the coast.

Very Respectfully Yours

Stephen Smith

P.S. with regard to my standing in this city. I can at present only say that I am quite sick with the measles, and unable to go out, but expect to be able in a few days, and if necessary, can get every respectable getleman in this City to certify that I am the oldest, and one of the most respectable masters and Ship owners in this city S. S.

[Addressed] E. L. Childs, Esq, P. O. Department, Washington City
Single [Postmarked] Baltimore Md Mar 29 10

HORATIO E. HALE²¹ TO EBENEZER L. CHILDS
[NA:SD, Applications:ALS]

Washington, September 23, 1842

Dear Sir—I have much pleasure in complying with your request to afford you my testimony as to Mr. Larkin's fitness for the office of consul at Monterey. I spent three weeks at that place in January of this year, living a few days at Mr. Larkin's house. He is a gentleman of property, much respected both by foreigners & natives, & bearing, so far as my knowledge extends, an irreproachable character. He is, beyond question, the principal American merchant resident at Monterey. He speaks the language fluently, & has, from the nature of his business, a general acquaintance with the commercial & political regulations of the province. When the necessity of a consular establishment was discussed on the spot, I frequently heard him mentioned as a proper person for the station.

Monterey is the capital & only port of entry of Upper California. Every ship visiting the province for the purpose of trade is obliged to pay duties on her cargo at that port, after which she is free to visit all other places on the coast. The trade of California is chiefly in hides & tallow, which are exchanged for American manufactures of every description. There Are usually six or eight American vessels at the same time trading on the coast, with a few of other nations. These vessels require from one to three years to complete their cargoes; of course, not more than three or four arrive in each year. Whalers, however,

frequently put in to obtain provisions, wood & water, & vessels of war, of different nations, touch there every year. Cases occasionally arise in which the presence & interposition of an American Consul would be of great service to the interests of his countrymen.

From the very limited number of vessels arriving in each year, the emoluments of the office would necessarily be small. The reasons which make it desirable are, I presume, the consideration with which it invests the holder, & the security which it affords him,—particularly if he possess property which might tempt the cupidity of the native rulers in any of their frequent political commotions.²²

Very sincerely yours

H. Hale

Member of the Scientific Corps
in the U.S. Explg Expedition

E. L. Childs, Esq. Washington.

[*Addressed*] E. L. Childs, Esq Washington

[*Endorsed*] Monterey—Consulate T. O. Larkin's papers, Part of the papers on which he was appointed. Rest of his papers withdrawn by Mr Tyler and Mr Webster²³ G H Mr Hill

NOTES

1. Rayner W. Kelsey, *The United States Consulate in California* (Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. I, No. 5, Berkeley, Calif., 1910), p. 7.

2. No letter from Thomas H. Benton found.

3. Raines was in New York City during October, 1833, and on the 26th of that month wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, expressing the wish that his commission would be sent, as he expected to sail for California soon. This letter has not been found, but an entry pertaining to it is in NA(SD, Register of Letters Received), which shows it was received on Oct. 30. The Secretary of State replied on Oct. 31 to the effect that the commission had been sent to St. Louis (NA, SD, Instructions to Consuls, Bk. 5).

4. Raines was nominated for a permanent appointment as consul at Monterey on Jan. 20, 1834, but the nomination was tabled on Feb. 10, and on Feb. 21 a letter was received from the President withdrawing the nomination (Senate, *Executive Journal*, IV, 344, 348, 358). The President's letter has not been found in the Senate Files in the National Archives. What happened to Raines has not been ascertained. In NA(SD, Miscellaneous Letters) is a letter from Fanny Wyatt, written from "White Chimneys," Caroline County, Virginia, on May 23, 1835, enquiring

whether the State Department had heard from Austin J. Raines, her nephew, from whom she had received only one letter since he had left the country. No reply to this has been found. Another applicant for the appointment as consul at Monterey or some other place on the west coast of Mexico was H. J. Kelly, from whom a communication dated December, 1834 was received (NA, SD, Index to Despatches from Consuls, No. 5, p. 11; the letter itself is missing). This was undoubtedly Hall Jackson Kelly, the outspoken proponent of the occupation of the Oregon Country.

5. A Representative in Congress from Missouri, who in the 1820's had engaged in the Rocky Mountain fur trade.

6. Bent, his brother William, and Ceran St. Vrain were the owners of a large trading post, known as Bent's Fort, on the upper Arkansas River. Several years before, Charles Bent and St. Vrain had become residents of New Mexico.

7. Marsh, formerly a subagent for Indian affairs on the upper Mississippi, was at this time a merchant at Independence, Missouri. During the fall and winter of 1835-1836 he traveled over the Santa Fe trail and the Gila River route to California, where he became a prominent physician and rancher.

8. William Hunter, Jr., a clerk in the State Department.

9. No reply found.

10. This letter should have been addressed to Jonathan P. Gilliam; see the next letter.

11. Dated June 21, 1837, this is in the same form as that issued in 1833 to Austin J. Raines (NA, SD, Consular Appointments, Temporary).

12. Gilliam acknowledged receipt of the commission from the port of Mazatlan, Mexico, on Sept. 29, 1837 (NA, SD, Applications and Recommendations).

13. NA (SD, Instructions to Consuls, Bk. 9).

14. A new commission, dated Dec. 13, 1837, in his correct name was sent to Gilliam by the Secretary of State on Dec. 16, 1837 (NA, SD, Instructions to Consuls, Bk. 9; Commissions of Consuls of the United States, Permanent). Gilliam seems never to have reached California. In his case death seems to have intervened (George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers; Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul of California* (Berkeley, 1951-), I, xiv; II, 61-63).

15. No reply by the Secretary of State found.

16. Representative in Congress from Massachusetts.

17. Nominated Feb. 13, 1843 and confirmed on March 11 (Senate, *Executive Journal*, VI, 27, 30, 38).

18. Marginal notation on the MS, "Sent to N York."

19. Carlile resigned on June 7, 1843 in a communication written at New York (NA, SD, Reg. Lets. Recd.; text missing). Albert M. Gilliam, a brother of Jonathan P. Gilliam, was commissioned as consul at San Francisco on Jan. 29, 1844 (NA, SD, Commissions of Consuls of the United States, Permanent, Bk. 3, Senate, *Executive Journal*, VI, 196, 208, 208), but he never reached California either (Hammond, ed., *Larkin Papers*, II, 143). William A. Leidesdorff, a merchant at San Francisco, was appointed vice consul there by Larkin in October, 1845.

20. Stepbrother of Thomas O. Larkin, and a principal clerk in the Post Office Department in Washington.

21. Philologist attached to the Wilkes exploring expedition of the United States Navy, 1838-1842.

22. A temporary commission as consul of the United States at Monterey, dated May 1, 1843 (NA, SD, Consular Commissions, Temporary; printed in Hammond, ed., *Larkin Papers*, II, 358-359) was sent to him on the same date (NA, SD, Instructions to Consuls, Bk. 11; printed in Hammond, ed., *Larkin Papers*, II, 360). He was nominated for a permanent appointment on Dec. 16, 1843, and confirmed on Jan. 9, 1844 (Senate, *Executive Journal*, VI, 196, 198, 208). His commission was dated Jan. 29, 1844 (NA, SD, Commissions of Consuls of the United States, Permanent, Bk. 3; printed in Hammond, ed., *Larkin Papers*, II, 361-362).

23. The President and the Secretary of State.

LOUIS SLOSS, JR., COLLECTION

OF

California Paintings

By JEAN MARTIN



*Mid golden clouds of sunset fuming up
From everlasting censers of the West
Set to thy lips mine unbetraying cup,
And send thy soul on an immortal quest!*

GEORGE STERLING, *California to the Artist*

SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

APRIL AND MAY, 1958

These paintings have been placed on deposit with the

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

by the

SAN FRANCISCO ART ASSOCIATION

THE COLLECTOR

WHEN Louis Sloss, Jr., died in 1933, he bequeathed to the San Francisco Art Association his collection of fifty-one paintings by thirty-six artists, mostly identified with California. Mr. Sloss was the son of a San Francisco pioneer who had made a fortune in the Alaska fur trade and in mining. Conscious of the responsibilities of great wealth, he and his family were active in many of the charitable and cultural organizations of San Francisco, including the San Francisco Art Association. Among other services to the Association, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Sloss were on the reception committee of its annual Mardi Gras ball in 1897, and the son took part in the staging of the 1904 ball.

The San Francisco Art Association was founded in 1871. With the idea that art was not receiving enough support or recognition, artists such as Virgil Williams and Samuel Marsden Brookes rallied their friends and formed the group. It was felt that there were not enough artists in San Francisco at that time to support such an association and its projected exhibitions and school, so membership was offered to non-artists, as "lay members." Since the Association soon became fashionable, its continuance was assured. It took hold and became a force in San Francisco, along with the Bohemian Club, which was at that time devoted to art and artists.

Following in the footsteps of his father, Louis Sloss, Jr., joined both these organizations and eventually became a patron of art and a collector. His interest in art was in no way professional; he was an amateur collector. An interest in the past is clearly evident in his collection, but so is an interest in contemporary artists. To satisfy the former interest he purchased Tavernier, Hill, and Keith; for the latter, Pages, Wores, Hudson, and Peters. Since

some of the artists represented sold their works only through S. and G. Gump's Galleries, apparently Mr. Sloss dealt with this firm. He was acquainted with A. L. Gump.

There are two noticeable tendencies in the collection: Mr. Sloss bought paintings chiefly of the smaller sizes and chiefly by California artists. He was not interested in the large, heroic canvases being painted. Mr. Sloss was realistic about his collection, and knew that it was not the very best that could have been made. He knew that as time passed some of his pictures would no longer be considered of major standing, but he felt justified in leaving the entire collection to the San Francisco Art Association with the idea of its forming the nucleus of a permanent collection. He was alert to quality, and some of his canvases are among the most refined pictures painted in California during this period.

THE COLLECTION

The paintings of the Sloss Collection are from an exciting period in the history of California art. They encompass the time when art in California was undergoing a profound change. From the school of picturesque California scenery, painted for patrons intensely interested in that scenery, it moved outward toward a widening horizon. The men who first painted in California painted the land as if it were the eighth wonder of the world; their descendants painted it from the point of view of art as an autonomous activity in which subject matter was of secondary importance.

The Sloss Collection begins in the late 1870's with men like Thomas Hill and Jules Tavernier. These two artists are from the old school; they were enchanted by the grandeur of California scenery. Though these men were not born here, their paintings are among the finest made in California at that time. They came West and painted California with an intensity that seeing some-

thing for the first time can bring out in an artist. The landscape gripped the artistic imagination, and pictures were frequently made for people in the East who could not or did not wish to make the long trip West.

Although the taste of the times did not permit private homes to display on their walls full-blown European nudes of Cleopatra or Delilah (because, presumably, they were not suitable for the eyes of women and children), the saloons and restaurants were covering their walls with these European beauties. It has even been said that the first art galleries in San Francisco were these establishments. European art was being imported continually, but there was at the same time a movement for an art that was nearer the people of this area. The *California Art Gallery* reports in its first issue of 1873,

There has recently been a growing disposition on the part of the wealthier classes of our population to adorn their residences with works of art, and our local artists, notwithstanding their numbers, are beginning to command a more intelligent appreciation, and a more liberal patronage than ever before. Those of them who have been so fortunate as to win recognition (a circumstance which does not always depend exclusively upon talent and professional merit) obtain good, though seldom extravagant prices for their works. The skill of the upholsterer is no longer considered all that is needed to adorn the homes of the prosperous: and pictures are not—generally at least—purchased as mere articles of parlor furniture. Neither is it now accepted as an article of popular belief among us that a copy from the galleries of Rome, or Paris, or Munich, must of necessity be worth a higher price than a picture by a California Artist.

It was at this time that the wealthy men who had made fortunes in the bonanza years realized that it was possible for good art to be produced right here in their own state; up to this time it had been fashionable for the more prominent citizens to purchase huge paintings of classical subjects, imported from Europe. Railroad and banking barons gave recognition to art in Califor-

nia. They bought large paintings of Yosemite Valley and Mount Whitney. They were willing to spend a small fortune for an early Keith or Tavernier or Thomas Hill. The artists of the West Coast in the 1870's and 80's could have confidence in finding a market for their paintings where they painted.

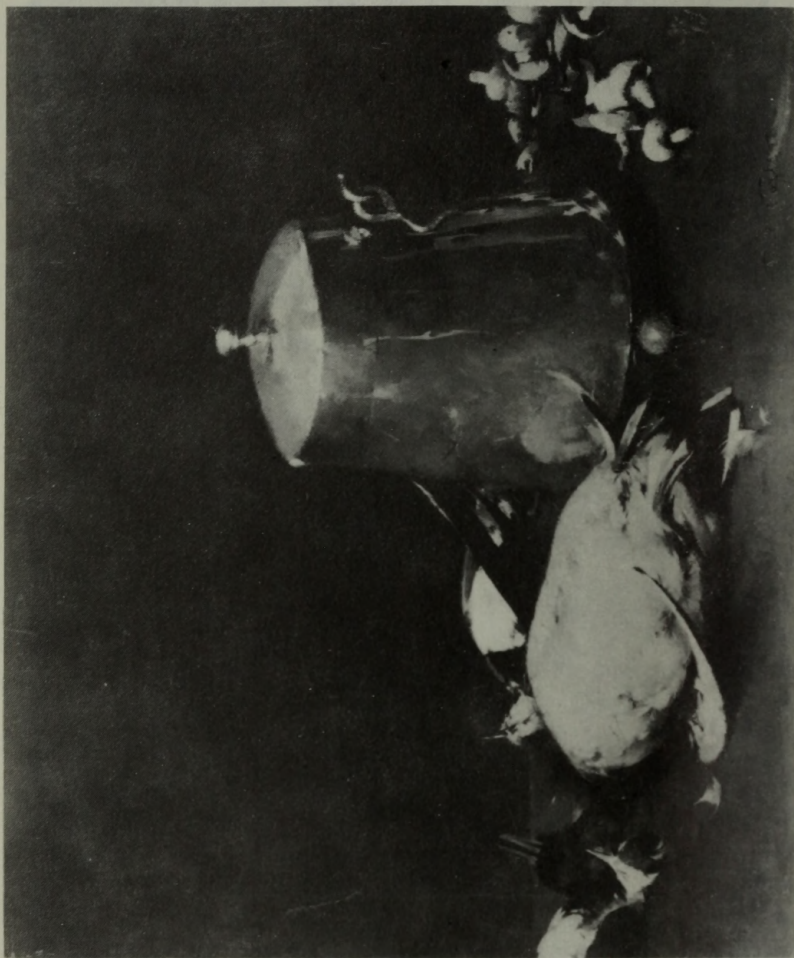
During the next twenty years a change took place in California art. Painters looked once more at the hills and valleys of the state. They renewed their image of the land and made it a vehicle for their art. Before this, patrons of art bought literary paintings of the West Coast; to these men they served as travelogues, journalistic reports of places they had once seen and wished to remember, or where they could never go. But as traditions of art in California grew, factual representation of localities of the state became less important, and by 1890 the artist demanded that his picture be a work of visual art and not mere painted scenery.

One man who in his own career illustrated this change was William Keith. He began painting in California, and in his first period he followed the method of Tavernier and Hill. His early paintings, depicting such splendors of California as "The Headwaters of the San Joaquin," are literal transcriptions of nature onto canvas. Well done, certainly, but they are completely without the artistic and aesthetic self-awareness which was to become, as the forty-odd years of his creative life passed, the dominant quality of his art. These early works are objective paintings, done with a cool reserve on the artist's part; they are made by a man who is like a camera before a scene whose might and primeval strangeness he can encompass and portray only through reserve and self-sufficiency. Space is clear and deep in them, the air usually crystalline, like the color; forms are accurately drawn, fully realized in volume, and simply organized within the space of the picture. Most of these early works were developed from sketches of particular scenes and they ring with the particularity of place and of time that Eakins has, or Canaletto.

Later, during what could roughly be called his middle period, Keith lost some of the specificity of place. Although his land-



Louis Sloss, Jr.



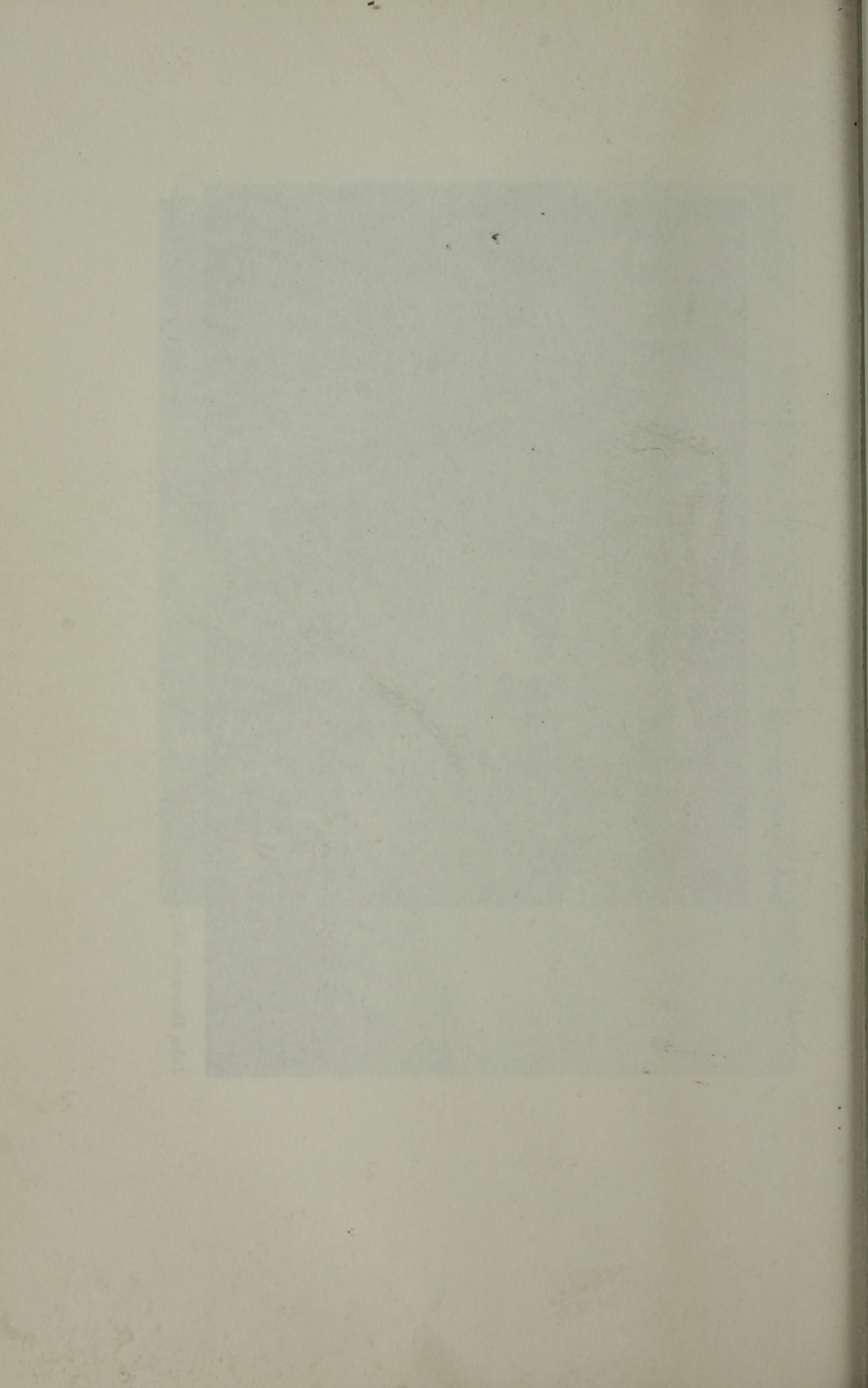
Emil Carlsen, 1853-1932

STILL LIFE



Jules Tavernier, 1844-1889

APRIL SHOWERS, NAPA VALLEY



scapes still bore such titles as "Mt. Tamalpais," the true subject has shifted from the aspects of the land, its hills and rivers and how they turn and are colored, to a more subjective phenomenon perceived by the artist with his emotional rather than his anatomical eye. Thus this "Mt. Tamalpais" becomes a lyric of the atmospheres. Forms have stronger movements in his pictures now, the color is harmonized more on a pervasive single tone, and the pictures tend to be smaller. The artist now mixes himself with his subject and begins to find his picture in his soul. It was to this search that the last of Keith's work was devoted.

From the last period of Keith's life comes the "Summer Showers" of the Sloss Collection. Places and events now have become mere recollections, pretexts for form. This picture and most of his other late works may be turned sideways or upside down and be viewed almost as meaningfully as in their usual positions. Keith has now come at last to find his picture almost exclusively in his soul. Although he continues to sketch external nature, he sees there only the image he sees in himself. This image has become one in which light and darkness endlessly entangle and exchange their places and in which the figures of women, solitary or with a few companions, await beneath great oaks, in a last dim ray from a late sun, the death of day. Keith's art and its evolution is the epitome of all art in California during this time. It is also the summit of that art because, insofar as an artist strove toward value in those years, he strove in the image of Keith, shifting slowly as Keith had, working in the relationships between artist and subject that Keith developed.

* * *

In the 1870's, with the development of the California School of Design (later the California School of Fine Arts), training in art became available on the West Coast. The two types of artists who had made up the first period of American art in California, the self-taught primitive and the New York-trained professional, whose interaction upon one another through art organizations

and the taste of the buying public had created something of a California style, began to disappear from the scene. By 1880 the rising artist was one who had received his training at the California School of Design under European-trained teachers, and would soon leave for a stay in Europe to complete his training. Because of this, art in California began at this time—and continued throughout all ensuing periods—to mirror the conception of art held in intellectually advanced circles throughout the Western world.

Fostering the development of the cosmopolitan artists was the existence in San Francisco of the cosmopolitan collector. The rich began to become cultured, the cultured to travel in Europe, and everyone to realize that beauty was not merely a matter of place. Beauty, it was felt, was an emanation, an attitude, an emotion. It was a matter of the individual who experienced it, not so much of the object which inspired the emotion. Artists like Jules Pages stayed many years in France and painted French life, finding a ready market in San Francisco. Theodore Wores found in Japan subjects which delighted romantic Californians. Simultaneously with the discovery by California patrons that pictures of some other place could be beautiful came the discovery that their own scene, painted in the advancing subjectivity which was the mark of the age, could have an equal beauty. So Grace Hudson returned to her home in Ukiah and painted the native Indians for cultured San Franciscans. Francis McComas painted cypresses and deserts infused with a sense of nature, poetry, and style which harmonized with the homes and lives of the culturally-minded of the turn of the century. Maynard Dixon roamed about the West painting cowboys, Indians, and the desert for stay-at-homes.

* * *

In 1933 Junius Cravens wrote in a newspaper account of the Sloss bequest, that considered as a whole the Collection "is interesting chiefly as a cross-section of California art during the late years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twenti-

eth century. Such names as Keith, Tavernier, Hill, Pages, and Peters were among the most important ones of their day and still hold their places." He began his next sentence, "though consistently old school." From the standpoint of the social realism of the 1930's these paintings must indeed have seemed "old school," but from this slightly further remove they do not suggest one old school but many diverse individuals, each reacting to a tide that was to affect all. During these years art in California grew, broke the bounds of provincialism, and began to move into the stream of national art.

CATALOGUE

BREUER, HENRY JOSEPH:

Landscape

oil on copper, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$

Born Philadelphia, Pa., 1860. Studied Cincinnati, New York and Paris. Worked principally in California as a landscape painter for thirty years. Two of his pictures mentioned in *Art In California* (1916) as having been shown with the Exhibition of American Masterpieces at Berlin.

BURGDORFF, FERDINAND:

Monterey

pastel on paper, $11 \times 10\frac{3}{4}$

Born Cleveland, Ohio, 1883. Studied: Cleveland School of Art and in Paris. Active in California from ca. 1910.

CARLSEN, EMIL:

Still Life

oil on canvas, 30×25

Still Life with Fish

oil on canvas, $25 \times 30\frac{1}{4}$

Born Denmark, 1853. Studied in Copenhagen and under Vallon in Paris. Came to the United States in 1872. Director of the California School of Design, 1887-1889. Member of Society of American Artists and Associate of the National Academy. Died in eastern U. S. 1932. Memorial exhibition, New York, 1957.

COULTER, W. A.:

Full Rigged Ship

oil on canvas, 30½ x 20½

Began as an artist on the San Francisco Call. Noted as a marine artist in San Francisco by 1873. Best known for his pictures of sailing vessels. Died in California, 1936.

COUTTS, ALICE:

Indian Papoose

oil on panel, 8 x 6

Little information is available on this painter. However, it is known that she was roughly contemporary with Grace Hudson (see below), that she modeled her work on the work of this artist both in style and subject, and that her paintings are often confused at the present time with paintings by her model.

DICKMAN, CHARLES:

Cypress Point, Monterey

oil on canvas, 22¼ x 37½

*Sunset on Carmel Coast,
Monterey*

oil on canvas, 24 x 60

Born in Germany, 1863. Came to California in 1882. Studied at the California School of Design and in Paris at the academies Julien and Colorossi. Member of the International Jury of Awards, Panama Pacific International Exposition, 1915.

DIXON, MAYNARD:

Sunshine and Rain

oil on canvas, 20 x 30⅔

Born in Fresno, 1875. Spent his childhood in the San Joaquin Valley. At 16 sent his sketchbook to Frederick Remington, who

encouraged him to become an artist. Began his career as a newspaperman and illustrator. Went to New York ca. 1906, returning to San Francisco in 1912. Never again left the West. Executed murals for the Mark Hopkins Hotel, the California State Library, the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a number of post offices. Was a member of the Bohemian Club. Died 1946.

GAMBLE, JOHN M.:

Wild Buckwheat

oil on canvas, 30 x 25

Born Morristown, New Jersey, 1863. Studied San Francisco School of Design under Virgil Williams and Emil Carlsen; also at the Academie Julien, Paris. Specialized in painting landscapes with wildflowers.

GRAY, PERCY:

Eucalyptus

watercolor on paper, 20³/₈ x 16¹/₄

Eucalyptus

watercolor on paper, 14³/₈ x 10¹/₄

The Oaks

watercolor, 10¹/₄ x 14¹/₄

Born in San Francisco, 1869. Studied California School of Design; Art Students League, New York, under William Merritt Chase; Stuttgart, Munich, and Antwerp. Exhibited: various galleries and clubs in San Francisco. Bronze medal, Panama Pacific International Exposition, 1915.

GREENBAUM, JOSEPH:

Landscape

oil on canvas, 14 x 10

Born in New York, 1864. Studied California School of Design; in Paris under Lefebvre, Robert, Fleury, Doucet, and Humbert; and in Munich under Carl Marr.

HILL, THOMAS:

Foothills Near Raymond

oil on canvas, 14½ x 22

Born in Birmingham, England, 1829. Family came to America in 1840 and settled in Taunton, Mass. At an early age showed artistic talent, his first important work being painted in Philadelphia in 1853 when he was a member of the Old Graphic Club. In 1853 received his first medal at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore. In 1861 came to California for the benefit of his health. Opened a studio in San Francisco, where he received the first prize of the Art Union for the *Trial Scene in the Merchant of Venice*. Went to Paris in 1866 and studied with Paul Meyerheim, after which he devoted himself almost exclusively to landscape. Taking up his residence in Boston in 1867, painted several notable pictures including the *Yosemite Valley* and *White Mountain Notch*. Ill health compelled him to return to California, where he was soon able to resume his work. At the Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876, was awarded the first medal for landscape painting. Died near Raymond, California, 1908.

HUDSON, GRACE:

Doctor Kolba, Medicine Man

oil on canvas, 12 x 8

Little Mendocino

oil on canvas, 36 x 26

Born in Ukiah, California. Entered the California School of Design in 1882, remained until 1885, working under the instruction of Virgil Williams. Made a specialty of pictures of the Indians of

her native county, in which she achieved marked success. Died 1937.

JORGENSEN, CHRISTIAN:

San Francisco Waterfront
watercolor, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$

Born Oslo, Norway, 1860. Came to the United States in 1870. First student to enroll in the California School of Design. Achieved fame with paintings of Yosemite, the Sierra Nevada, and the California desert. Was a recognized portraitist through his paintings of Abraham Lincoln. With George Sterling was one of the founders of the Carmel artists colony.

JOULLIN, AMEDEE:

Rio Puerco, New Mexico
oil on canvas, 10 x 30

Born in San Francisco, 1862. Studied: Beaux Arts, Paris, in San Francisco with Jules Tavernier. Instructor of the California School of Design 1887-1897. The bulk of his work is devoted to depicting the Indians of California. Died in San Francisco, 1917.

KEITH, WILLIAM:

Summer Showers

oil on canvas, 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16

Springtime in Santa Clara Valley

oil on canvas, 17 x 28

Mount Tamalpais

from San Rafael

oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 21

Born in Scotland, 1839. Studied under Achenbach and Carl Marr, and spent some time at work in Paris. Engraver until 1859, when

he came to California, where, with the exception of occasional visits to Europe, he resided. Best known for his landscapes, which have achieved for him a reputation throughout the United States. Died Berkeley, 1911.

McCOMAS, FRANCIS:

Indian Village

watercolor, 22 x 28

Born Fingal, Tasmania, 1875. Studied: Julien Academy, Paris. Came to California and established his home in Monterey in 1895. Famous for his paintings of cypress groves and trees. Died in San Francisco, 1938. His ashes buried beneath a large boulder at Cypress Point, one of the spots he made famous.

MATHEWS, ARTHUR F.:

The Three Graces

oil on wood panel, 22½ x 19

Born in Wisconsin in 1860. Came to California while very young. Studied: Julien Academy, Paris, under Boulanger and Lefebvre, where he was awarded the first medal for painting and composition. Became an instructor in the California School of Design in 1889, and was director there from 1890 to 1906. Won the James D. Phelan award for best picture on an historical theme in 1896, for painting entitled *The Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco by Portola*. This painting was presented to the San Francisco Art Association in 1896 and was rescued from the 1906 fire and is still in the possession of the Association.

MATHIESON, J. MUIR:

Landscape

oil on cardboard, 9 x 10¼

Little information available on this artist at the present time.

PAGES, JULES:

Boats at Saint Tropez

oil on canvas, 24 x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$

Old Town of Moret

oil on canvas, 24 x 18 $\frac{1}{2}$

Born in 1867 in San Francisco, where his father was an engraver. Studied at California School of Design and in Paris. Pursued his career as an artist in Paris, where he received the highest honors. Made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Many of his pictures hang in the Luxembourg Museum. Returned to San Francisco in 1941 as a fugitive from the German Occupation. Died in San Francisco in 1946.

PETERS, CHARLES ROLLO:

Moonlight

oil on canvas, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Corral

oil on canvas, 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 48 $\frac{3}{4}$

Born in California, 1862. Studied: California School of Design under Virgil Williams; in Paris under Boulanger and Lefebvre. Was well known for his night scenes and his paintings of the adobe buildings around Monterey. Died in San Francisco, 1928.

RASCHEN, HENRY:

Indian Camp near Fort Ross

oil on canvas, 30 x 40

Born Oldenburg, Germany, 1856. Family emigrated to Fort Ross, California, in 1868. Studied: California School of Design and later in Munich and Paris. Well known for his paintings of the Indians of the West. Met with success in Europe as well as the United States. After the fire of 1906 moved to Alameda and then to Oakland. Died in Oakland in 1937.

RIX, JULIAN:

Storm Over the Divide

oil on canvas, 58 x 40½

Mount Tamalpais

oil on canvas, 10½ x 14

After the Rain, Palo Alto

oil on canvas, 24½ x 42½

Born Peacham, Vermont, 1850. Family came to San Francisco in 1854. Self-taught painter. For some years occupied a studio with Jules Tavernier at 728 Montgomery, San Francisco. Died San Francisco, 1903.

ROBINSON, CHARLES DORMAN: *Moonlight on the Ocean*
(*San Francisco Beach*)

oil on canvas, 12¾ x 20¾

Mount Tamalpais

oil on canvas, 22¾ x 16¼

Off the Farallone Islands

oil on canvas, 32 x 43½

Born in Vermont, 1847. Studied under William Bradford, George Inness, I. F. Cropsey in the United States; in Paris under Segantini and Boudin. Many of his works are in the collection of the royal family of England, also represented in India, Australia, New Zealand, and France. Principally a painter of mountain and marine subjects. Never competed for any public honors, although he won all the prizes at the San Francisco Art Association show in 1878. Died in 1933.

TAVERNIER, JULES:

April Showers, Napa Valley

oil on canvas, 30½ x 20

Born in Paris, 1844. Was a student of Felix Barris and achieved

some success in France before the Franco-Prussian War, in which he fought. Came to this country in 1871 and was an illustrator for the *New York Graphic* and *Harper's Weekly*. In 1873 was sent on a sketching trip of the West ending in San Francisco, where he chose to remain. Enjoyed a reputation of some note in San Francisco and was a member of the Bohemian Club. Due to his recurrent monetary difficulties was forced to leave San Francisco and made his way to Hawaii in 1884. Died in Honolulu in 1889.

WELCH, THADDEUS:

The Steep Ravine

oil on canvas, 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 36 $\frac{1}{4}$

Rocky Point, Bolinas

oil on canvas, 18 x 26 $\frac{3}{4}$

Born in Oregon. Came to California in 1866 as a tramp printer. Left for Europe in 1880 and while there won three bronze medals in exhibitions in Munich and Paris. Died in California, 1919.

WORES, THEODORE:

A California Garden

oil on canvas, 40 x 30

Born in San Francisco, 1858. Studied: California School of Design; Munich, Paris, Rome, and Venice, where he met Whistler and used his etching process of canal scenes. Returned and had his first United States exhibition in 1881. Went to Japan in 1885 and remained three years. Died in San Francisco, 1939.

YELLAND, RAYMOND D.:

Russian River

oil on canvas, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$

Born in England, 1848. Came to the United States when a youth and studied at the National Academy. Was also a pupil of James Brevoort and William Page. Died in 1900.

Paintings in the Sloss Bequest not shown in the 1958 exhibition
at the California Historical Society.

MIRO, G.:

La Porte St. Denis

INNOCENTI:

Landscape and Figures

KOTCHENREITER, G.:

Landscape

VAN DER WEYDEN:

Moonlight, Picardy

Unknown:

Man in Red Jacket

Philosophy in California to 1906 *and some of its Antecedents*

By ELMO A. ROBINSON

(Concluded)

By 1892-93, Professor Howison was being given assistance in the work of the department by 2 fellows in philosophy, George M. Stratton (A.B., 1888, U. C.; A.M., 1890, Yale), and Ernest Norton Henderson (A.B., 1893, and A.M., 1894, U. C.).⁸⁶ One of the courses offered (1893-94) was entitled, "General Nature and Classification of the Facts of Consciousness and their Relation to Neural Physiology." In 1897-98, with the addition the previous year of Evander B. McGilvary to the staff, psychology was receiving more and more attention, including the holding of psychological conferences and laboratory work in the subject, both elementary and advanced.⁸⁷ Conferences were considered fundamental. As Professor Howison said in a lecture on "The Function of Universities in Religion" before the Unitarian Club of California in 1897: "The human native powers, brought to the highest discipline by the method of Discussion, at the seats of learning, are the only judges of what is finally true in religion." Some decades before (1859), John Stuart Mill declared in similar fashion that our most warrantable beliefs "have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded . . . if the lists are kept open, we may hope that if there be a better truth, it will be found when the human mind is capable of receiving it."⁸⁸ A brief summary of Howison's attitude in regard to religion he gave himself in these words: "Opposition to agnosticism on the one hand, and to pantheism on the other, to brittle individualism that ends in anarchism, and to socialistic imperialism that obliterates all real individual responsibility and self-maintained character, may be taken as another way of stating what I am after."⁸⁹

Elsewhere in the United States, activity began to be manifested in

the late 1850's in St. Louis, resulting in 1866, under the initiative of William T. Harris and others, in the establishment of a Philosophical Society,⁹⁰ dedicated largely to the study and teaching of the principles formulated by Hegel (i.e., a living, acting, holy embodiment of Deity as the justifiable corollary of an active and vigorous virtue in man), and with members in many parts of the United States and in Europe. From 1867 to 1893, the society published the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, the first such journal in the country. Harris and Emerson corresponded frequently. The latter and Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888, teacher and philosopher, and father of Louisa May Alcott, the novelist) visited St. Louis and Harris visited and later moved to Concord, Massachusetts, their mutual interests leading to the opening of the Concord School of Philosophy in 1879, sponsored by both New Englanders and Mid-Westerners. It was an informal summer school, yet the teaching staff were men of genuine ability.

These popular movements aroused nation-wide interest; traveling lecturers drew audiences satisfactory in size and attentiveness. Julia Ward Howe, who sought to interpret German thought, included California in her itinerary.⁹¹ Emerson, on a vacation outing in 1871, was invited to give a free lecture in San Francisco. The response, with but brief time for publicity, was so gratifying that a course of 5 pay lectures was arranged — 4 in San Francisco and 1 in Oakland.⁹² In 1888, Harris, who had been appointed U. S. commissioner of education, attended the sessions of the National Education Association in San Francisco, and presented a paper on "Philosophy in Colleges and Universities."⁹³ Meanwhile, in 1872, George H. Palmer had become an instructor at Harvard and under his leadership there emerged "the first well-rounded department for teaching philosophy in the country."⁹⁴ To it went William James in 1880, Josiah Royce in 1882, and George Santayana in 1889. Johns Hopkins University, pioneer graduate institution, opened its doors in 1876, with George S. Morris, teacher of both Royce and John Dewey, as its philosopher.⁹⁵ During the period from 1870 on, philosophy was increasing in importance, observable in the number of teachers, and in the amount of printed matter that was being issued. The *Monist* began publication in 1890, the *Philosophical Review* in 1892, and *The Journal of Philosophy* in 1904. At first the new crop of philosophers

joined the American Psychological Association, organized in 1891, constituting an unofficial separate section until about 1900, when the mid-west and the eastern divisions of the American Philosophical Association were established. (The Pacific Division was added in 1924.)⁹⁶

In 1891, a new university opened its doors, Stanford: David Starr Jordan, its first president, was a recognized authority on fishes, on education, and on the peace movement.⁹⁷ Some courses in philosophy were taught by Edward H. Griggs, an instructor in English. In 1893, Jacob Gould Schurman (later president of Cornell University), an appointee as "non-resident professor" at Stanford, lectured in philosophy, and was followed by Charles H. Rieber, who taught the subject for 2 years, 1901-1903, before going to the University of California. What has been called "easily the most glamorous event in the history of philosophy at Stanford" was the coming of William James.⁹⁸ He, and his brother Henry the novelist, were sons of the Swedenborgian theologian Henry James. At the time of his coming to Stanford, William (M.D., Harvard, 1870) had been teaching at his alma mater since 1872, with a range of subject including anatomy, physiology, psychology, and philosophy, and with several books to his credit, among them, *Principles of Psychology* (1890), *The Will to Believe* (1897), and *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). He had been appointed for the academic year 1905-1906, but at the request of President Charles William Eliot (*b.* 1834; *pres.* Harvard, 1869-1909; *d.* 1926) James abandoned his intention of resigning from Harvard and agreed to spend only the second semester at Stanford.

Some notion of his activities while at Stanford can be obtained from a letter he wrote from Palo Alto on February 1, 1906, saying that he had already given 9 lectures to 300 enrolled students and some 150 visitors. He took great pains in preparing for his lectures, he said, and felt that for the first time in his life he was lecturing well "... High time, after 30 years of practice. It earns me \$5000, if I can keep it up till May 27..."⁹⁹ Though the teaching of psychology at Stanford had been, from the first, in the capable hands of Frank Angell and Miss L. J. Martin, there had been no philosophy except for a year at a time. His coming to Stanford, he said, marked the beginning of "a new regime — next year they will have two good persons."

The course James gave, beginning in January 1906, was a general introduction to the subject, and the syllabus formed the basis for his uncompleted book, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, published posthumously by his wife, Alice James.¹⁰⁰ In it, James defines philosophy, technically so-called, as “the reflection of man on his relations with the universe”; it represents not only the “independent, personal look at all the data of life,” but, accompanying the look, is an “eagerness to harmonize” what one sees.¹⁰¹ How is the philosopher to know that he has succeeded in attaining “a conception of the frame of things? . . . A strong feeling of ease, peace, and rest” is one of the ways in which he knows it. With “the notion carefully instilled” in some quarters that scientific evidence will be found whereby truth will be established, James has no patience: “to hit the right channel” between believing too little or too much “is the measure of our wisdom as men.”¹⁰²

At the exercises on March 9, 1906, in honor of Founders' Day, James made the principal address, STANFORD'S IDEAL DESTINY, and during the course of it he struck a present-day pervasive and persuasive note. “. . . the wealth of a nation,” he told his hearers, “consists more than in anything else in the number of superior men it harbors. . . . Geniuses are ferments . . . in some respects like prima donnas. . . . They don't need to live in superfluity; but they need freedom from harassing care . . .”; and every country ought to find out and help its “first-rate thinkers,” cost in such cases being “entirely irrelevant.”¹⁰³ Sixteen-odd centuries before, a Greek rhetorician and philosopher, Cassius Longinus (A.D. 213-273), had carried his ideas about real “thinkers” even further: “An elevated genius,” he said, “employed in little things” [possibly in planning flights to the moon?] appears like the setting sun; “. . . he remits his splendor but retains his magnitude, and pleases more though he dazzles less.”¹⁰⁴

In the colleges further south—for example, at the University of Southern California, incorporated in 1880 in Los Angeles—the teaching of philosophy followed the traditional division into natural, mental and moral. The man who did the organizational work in the teaching of the subject in Los Angeles that Howison had done earlier in Berkeley was James H. Hoose, a graduate of Syracuse University and a close friend of William T. Harris, mentioned above. Hoose came to the education

department of the 10-year old university in 1891, but after 1895 he served as head of the new department of philosophy.¹⁰⁵

Pomona College, a product of New England Congregationalism, was founded in the boom-days of 1886.^{105a} There again division of subject matter in philosophy was along the usual lines, and its teaching was shifted from year to year, now allied with Biblical literature, now with pedagogy, now with mathematics — the last, according to John Locke, being a necessary discipline for mankind, “not so much to make them mathematicians, as to make them reasonable creatures,” reason only flowering when it is industriously exercised.

In the colleges established in California by the Catholic Church, courses in philosophy were given about the same listing as in the Protestant colleges. The University of Santa Clara, which opened in March 1851, with “twelve pupils, two secular teachers, an Indian to serve as cook, and a respectable matron,” attained a college charter in 1855, and in 1857 awarded the first A.B. degree to be granted in California. Languages, mathematics, and science were more conspicuous than philosophy in the early curriculum.¹⁰⁶

Other Catholic colleges established in the 1850's and 1860's include the University of San Francisco (originally known as St. Ignatius' College), Dominican College (originally a preparatory school at Monterey), St. Mary's and the College of Notre Dame. In all these institutions, Thomism, or the system of philosophy developed by St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) — that is, in brief, that faith is a continuation of reason, and that philosophy and revelation therefore harmonize — is taught, with problems in the several fields being emphasized rather than the history of philosophy.¹⁰⁷

As to the Protestant theological seminaries in California, the Pacific School of Religion — a graduate, non-sectarian school, formerly the Pacific Theological Seminary — was founded, under Congregational auspices, in 1866 in San Francisco, moving thence to Oakland, and in 1901 to Berkeley.¹⁰⁸ Its purpose was to train ministers so that they would be “mentally adjusted to conditions of life in a pioneer society.” As of 1900-1901, a course was given in epistemology, or the theory of knowledge — how it is possible, its limits and validity — one of the points discussed being the distinction between the theoretical and practical

knowledge of God. Another course dealt with the philosophies and religions of China and Japan; a third was entitled Theological Applications of the Theory of Evolution, while Hebrew Wisdom Literature (*Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*) formed the subject matter of a fourth course.¹⁰⁹

Another theological seminary in the west, the Pacific Coast Baptist Theological Union, opened in 1890 in Oakland, moving to Berkeley in 1904. Examples of the work done in philosophy (1906-1907) were such courses as the philosophy of religion, the history and philosophy of the Semitic religion, the philosophies and religions of China.¹¹⁰

The present state-college idea is the outcome of the normal-school movement, and more specifically of Minns Evening Normal School, which opened in San Francisco in 1857.¹¹¹ As in the other schools and colleges of the period, natural philosophy was included in the curriculum. By 1889, however, San Jose Normal was listing philosophy of education during one term of its prescribed third year. John Dewey spoke on "Margins" at the commencement exercises of 1901, developing his themes of relativity of values and goals;¹¹² and in 1902 Josiah Royce's subject was "Certain Limitations of the Thoughtful Public of America," his recommendation to the graduates being temperance in knowledge, that is, to know a few things well.¹¹³

What might be called the "philosophy of land" — land, "God's gift to humanity" — was itself given a resounding voice by a resident of California in 1879, namely, in *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George.¹¹⁴ As stated in his book, the people should work, capital should invest; no owner should have the power to withhold resources. Such a combination, he thought, would permit the more ethical order he desired. *Progress and Poverty* went through many editions and translations into foreign languages, and recently his work, including his "law of social growth" — progress when change is in the direction of equality among men; retrogression when the change is opposite — has been given exhaustive treatment by Charles Albro Barker.

To show that the deduction, *i.e.*, "constitutions are not made but grow,"¹¹⁵ was heeded in California, even to the extent of having its new provisions considered by the "nocturnal council," or, more properly speaking, at night sessions of the legislators, the constitution of Califor-

nia was revised in 1878-1879. Though the changes were not all that would have been desirable, it was impossible that they could have been coherently formulated at that time in the state's history. Lacking was a business and political philosophy sensitive enough and high enough to see ahead and protect the public interest all along the line.¹¹⁶ Fortunate it is, then, that constitutions can be made to "grow."

To return to the progress being made in the teaching of philosophy at the University of California under Professor Howison: from September 1890 to January 1891 he gave a course on Ethics and Civil Polity, his notes for the course containing such originally-phrased sentences as, "The intellect is the faculty of truth and the conscience is the faculty of right conduct. . . . Goethe says that an intellect without conscience is a devil. I admit the proposition but it is stated in bad terms. . . ." ¹¹⁷ In October of 1895 an audience at Stanford University heard his views on *THE LIMITS OF EVOLUTION*. "Let men of science," he said on this occasion, "keep the method of science within the limits of science; let their readers, at all events, beware to do so. Within these limits there is complete compatibility of science with religion, and forever will be."¹¹⁸

His address at Stanford had been preceded by a conference, sponsored by the Philosophical Union of the University of California and held in Berkeley during 1895, on "The Conception of God."¹¹⁹ Josiah Royce, the first speaker, said in part: ". . . the conception of the Divine that St. Thomas [Aquinas] reached, remains in certain important respects central and in essence identical, I think, with the definition that I have tried to repeat . . . that what the faith of our fathers has generally meant by God, is, despite all the blindness and all the unessential accidents of religious tradition, identical with the inevitable outcome of a reflective philosophy."

Royce's remarks were followed by comments from other speakers, among them Joseph LeConte, professor of geology and natural history at the University of California. ". . . Our moral and religious nature," LeConte said, "is just as fundamental and essential as our scientific and rational nature. As science is not simply passionless acquisition of knowledge, but also enthusiasm for truth, so morality is not passionless rules of best conduct, but impassioned love of righteousness. And this last is what we call Religion. . . . Now, the necessary postulate of science

... is a Rational Order of the universe; and, similarly, the necessary postulate of religion ... is a Moral Order of the universe. As science postulates the final triumph of reason, so religion postulates the final triumph of righteousness. ..."

In bringing the conference to a close, Professor Howison pointed out his agreement with the proposition that "no conception of God can have any philosophical value unless it can be proved real, or, in other words, unless it is the conception that of itself proves God to exist."

When the Philosophical Union at the university decided to hold its conference on the conception of God, it was re-staging what had been done at intervals ever since man became conscious of himself and the world around him. Simonides (B.C. 556?-468?), Greek poet and philosopher, had such a question-and-answer meeting with the tyrant Dionysius some 2300 years earlier. When the tyrant asked Simonides what God was, the philosopher desired a day's time to consider it; then 2 days additional; then double the time again, for the more the philosopher contemplated the nature of the Deity, he found that he "waded but the more out of his depth," so that, instead of being able to find an end to his inquiry, he lost himself in the midst of it. Why was this so? Because, as the scholar who recorded the incident between Simonides and Dionysius, said, "We exist in place and time, the Divine Being fills the immensity of space with his presence, and inhabits eternity."¹²⁰

In the spring of 1906—the year that closes the period included in this paper—occurred the San Francisco earthquake and fire, requiring, on the part of the inhabitants there and in other exposed sections of the state, all the grit and "philosophy" of which they were capable. It served to remind us that the vigor and hardiness of character which brought the progenitors of *Homo sapiens* through the ordeal by ice in this area had not allowed itself to lapse in our time.

ADDENDUM: Whoever is, in any way, concerned with philosophy, has his or her own vision of the integrity and orderliness of its methods, and of the appropriateness of its contributions to daily living. Everyone philosophizes—children, adolescents, adults. Every class from kindergarten to a graduate seminar; every group from a Boy Scout gathering to a directors' meeting of a great corporation, is the scene of explicit or implicit philosophizing. Opinions are expressed about correct thinking,

about personal living and public order, about moral standards, and about the kind of universe in which we live. As, by its nature, philosophy must be receptive continually to discoveries and to changes in the arts and sciences, in history, religion, jurisprudence, government, and in economics, there can scarcely be a subject with a range of thought more stimulating to those who pursue it than is found in philosophy.

NOTES

86. *Ibid.*, 1892-93; see also John W. Buckham and George M. Stratton, *George Holmes Howison, Philosopher and Teacher*.

87. Univ. of Calif., *Courses of Instruction*, 1895-96, 1897-98.

88. John Stuart Mill, note 60 above, "On the Liberty of Thought and Discussion," pp. 43-44.

89. William Carey Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 137; cf. Confucius, note 63 above, p. 30: "How far reaching is the moral excellence that flows from the Constant Mean! It has for a long time been rare among the people."

90. F. B. Sanborn and William T. Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott—His Life and Philosophy*, II, 583.

Anthony Trollope, English novelist traveling in the U. S. in 1861-62, found that among the then-current very-popular books was Martin Farquhar Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*, a series of reflections, in blank verse, on moral and religious matters. See Trollope's *North America* (New York, Knopf, 1951), pp. 274, 495. The book was first published in England and in the U. S. in 1862 (*ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv); his mother's (Frances Trollope's), highly critical *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, appeared in 1832.

91. Louise Hall Thorpe, *Three Saints and a Sinner*, *passim*.

92. John Q. Anderson, note 61 above, pp. 241-48.

93. Program of N. E. A. convention, in California state library.

94. Benjamin Rand, "Philosophical Instruction in Harvard University," *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, vol. 37, pp. 29 ff.

95. In 1881, Morris went to the University of Michigan, where, in 1889, he was joined by John Dewey, then a young man of 30, in developing a school of philosophy. *University of Michigan—an Encyclopedic Survey*, pp. 668-80.

96. H. N. Gardiner, "The First Twenty-five Years of the American Philosophical Association," *Philos. Rev.*, vol. 35 (1926), pp. 145-58.

97. The present writer came to Palo Alto early enough to know many of the

original Stanford faculty. In later years, Dr. Jordan used to accept his invitation to preach for him on a Sunday morning, the congregation on those occasions being edified by philosophical discourses in non-technical language. For what Dr. Jordan called "a rare adventure into the philosophy of science," see his *Days of a Man* (1920), II, 397 ff.

98. Personal letter from John L. Mothershead.

William James had lectured at the University of California in 1898 on "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results." See pp. 287ff in *The University Chronicle*, I (1898).

99. *The Letters of William James*, ed. by his son Henry James (Boston, 1920), II, 240, 244. The earthquake of April 18, 1906, he characterized as "an entity that had been waiting all this time . . . but at last saying, 'Now, go to it!' and it was impossible not to conceive it as animated by a will, so vicious was the temper displayed." (*Ibid.*, p. 248.)

100. Ralph Barton Perry, "William James," in *Dict. of Am. Biog.*

101. *Philosophy of William James*, note 73 above, pp. 59, 62.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

104. Quoted by Samuel Johnson, essay, "Literary Courage."

105. James H. Hoose wrote little, but was particularly successful as a teacher.

105a. Charles Burt Sumner, *The Story of Pomona College* (1914), *passim*; John Locke, essay, "Of Principles."

106. *University of Santa Clara—A History* (1912).

107. *Prospectus of St. Ignatius College*, 1863-64.

108. Pacific School of Religion, *Bulletin*, catalogue edition, 91st year, vol. 36 (Apr. 1957), p. 13.

109. Pacific Theological Seminary (Congregational), Oakland, Calif., *Catalogue*, 1900-1901.

110. The Pacific Coast Baptist Theological Union (a Calif. corporation), *Annual catalogue*, 1906-1907, Berkeley, Calif.

111. Charles H. Allen, *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose* (1889), *passim*.

112. *San Jose Mercury Herald*, June 26, 1901, p. 8.

113. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1902, p. 3.

114. Charles Albro Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of *Progress and Poverty*," this *QUARTERLY*, June 1945, pp. 97-115.

115. Lewis Campbell, "Plato," *Encyclop. Britannica*, 11th ed., XXI, 824c.

116. Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1923), p. 423.

117. From typewritten copy of Professor Howison's notes in Univ. of Calif. library.

118. Howison's lecture was printed first in the *New World*, June 1896. It appeared again in a collection entitled, *The Limits of Evolution and other Essays* (New York, 1901), from which (p. 54) the quotation given here was taken.

See Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, abridgment of vols. VII-X by D. C. Somervell (Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 101-103, for modern view regarding possibility of joint attack on truth by science and religion.

119. Philosophical Union of the Univ. of Calif., *The Conception of God*, an Address before the Union by Josiah Royce together with Comments Thereon by Sidney Edward Mezes, Joseph LeConte and G. H. Howison (Berkeley, 1895).

120. Joseph Addison (1672-1719), "The Nature of the Supreme Being," in *The Spectator in Miniature*, from the 2nd London edition (Exeter, 1841), II, 125. Cf. Rosalie L. Colie, "Thomas Traherne [1637?-1674] and The Infinite," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Nov. 1957, pp. 76-77; see also *The Talmud*, The Feast Offering, chap. II, #1: "... And everyone who is not anxious for the honor of his Creator, it were suitable for him that he did not come into the world."

Priests, Pistols, and Polemics

By LIONEL U. RIDOUT

ON THE MORNING OF July 4, 1883, the San Francisco *Morning Call* printed a story of ecclesiastical conflict at St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Berkeley, which, though essentially serious in nature, certainly contained the germ of an *opera bouffe*. It was an amazing little tale involving priestly insubordination, fisticuffs, locked church doors, filibustering sermons, and the Standing Committee, Chancellor, and Bishop of the diocese.

Some months before, the retention of the Rev. Edward L. Greene as missionary in charge of St. Mark's had created a split in church membership wherein some of the most faithful of the congregation, including the junior and senior wardens (lay leaders of the mission), had withdrawn from active participation. Those who withdrew claimed that they believed Greene was not the man for the position. Nevertheless, backed by his friends, Greene remained at St. Mark's.¹

The dissenters² apparently formed and maintained a Sunday School in North Berkeley, an action resulting in complaints to Bishop William Ingraham Kip. No report was made as to which party of St. Mark's made the complaint; but whichever group it was, the Bishop took no action. Later, however, evidently at about the time the *Morning Call* story was written, dissatisfaction among the dissenters was strong enough to cause them to urge the Bishop to demand Greene's resignation. The priest, rather indifferent to Kip's orders, determined to remain at St. Mark's until a successor had been appointed.³

Immediately following the Bishop's decision, William C. Jones and William Doxey, obviously friends of Greene's, called on Kip and made a statement so strongly favorable to Greene that the Bishop apparently decided to withdraw his letter requesting the priest's resignation.⁴ As the *Call* stated, it was unfortunate the matter had to be publicized; it was merely a case of some people's liking Greene and some not.

It is obvious that neither party to the controversy was willing to let the matter drop with Kip's change of mind. Some three weeks later, vigilant as ever, the *Morning Call* again reported in a somewhat Winchellesque manner that the trouble at St. Mark's was once more newsworthy. The first point of difference, the *Call* pointed out, had been the retention of Greene as missionary in charge of the church. Now a second point of dispute had arisen—the status of the church community. Was St. Mark's a parish or a mission? Steps toward parochial organization had been taken with the election of a vestry,⁵ yet some members of the church claimed that there was no parochial organization and that the election of a vestry was invalid. The vestry had been composed of those dissatisfied with Greene's ministry, and they had withdrawn from St. Mark's when he had determined to remain there.⁶

The *Call* pointed out that charges had been preferred against Greene declaring that his behavior made him unfit to preach or teach the Christian religion. Several letters to the Bishop had resulted in his demanding Greene's resignation and subsequently recalling the demand. Now the original vestry under the leadership of James Palache was taking steps to assert what it believed to be its proper authority in the case.⁷

On the Sunday previous to July 28, after the morning service, the dissenting vestry had appeared at the church and demanded the keys to the building. A parley lasting until 3:00 p.m. resulted in the keys' being given to them, but the vestry later returned them to the Greene faction so that the church might be opened for a wedding.⁸

This second fracas drew more contestants into the matter and resulted in some action, however temporary. Bishop Kip consulted the Chancellor of the diocese, and the diocesan Board of Missions was given the matter for consideration. Greene was temporarily removed from office, angrily denying improper conduct and demanding an investigation of the whole affair.⁹

Bishop Kip, disturbed over unfavorable publicity as well as dissension in his diocese, took steps to settle the conflict by recognizing the parochial organization of St. Mark's. This action was seized upon by the friends of Greene as an excuse to hold a meeting and elect a vestry of their own. The original vestry, the Palache group, pressed matters

further by calling upon Dr. McClure¹⁰ of Oakland to take temporary charge of the parish. How McClure was to officiate was debatable, for Greene's forces had in the meantime padlocked the doors of the church and retained the keys.

Within the next night or so of these actions a "disgraceful encounter" took place which apparently jarred the sensibilities of even the newspaper reporters. Greene's allies held a meeting designed to retain the reverend gentleman in his position. Present were some of the opposing faction. "A wordy war ensued, opprobrious epithets were freely employed, blows were exchanged and a pistol was drawn on H. J. Berryman by Count Bejarn F. Dahl who is in favor of Mr. Greene's retaining his position."¹¹ Fortunately no one was injured nor arrested!

Undaunted by this encounter, Mr. Berryman, in the interests of his cohorts, later in the evening was caught attempting to pick the padlock on the church door. He was apprehended in the act by Will Wattles, a Greene man, who, together with others of the Greene party, removed the old lock and replaced it with another. By this time Berryman and Wattles had reached such a high pitch of excitement that a fist fight seemed the only possible solution of the problem. Mr. Wattles appeared to be the more able athletically, for it was reported that he got in "two or three hard knocks. . . ." Mr. Berryman suddenly recalled that he objected to fighting near the church, but he declined Wattle's offer to repair to some other place to settle the matter.¹²

Under the opinion that attack was the best method of defense, the Greene faction's next move was to publish a Manifesto and Resolution. Containing many *whereas's*, the manifesto declared that the dissenting group had wilfully abandoned St. Mark's, leaving it some twelve months before. The opposing members had persecuted the pastor and scandalously defamed him. Not only that, but the whole Episcopal Church had become the subject of contempt by wicked efforts to "deprive the faithful and law-abiding portion of the congregation of their just rights and to remove their chosen pastor. . . ." ¹³

Even the Bishop came in for censure. The manifesto declared that, while at various times treating St. Mark's Church and congregation as a mission and its pastor as a missionary, Kip had now reversed his actions without consulting the congregation and "in violation of a contract

whereby he referred the questions supposed to be at issue from the church to the Board of Missions. . . ." In addition he had declared legal the dissenting vestry, which had not even attended the church for twelve months.¹⁴

The Chancellor of the diocese was attacked on the grounds that he had misinterpreted the canons in a manner to aid a handful of dissenters and seceders from the church "who have been traducers of the church and scandalized the community. . . ." It had been the Chancellor who had advised the Bishop that the dissenting vestry was legal.¹⁵

Citing further matters of controversy, the manifesto finally reached its objective: a resolution protesting all the actions of the Bishop, Chancellor, and dissenters, and declaring firmly that the Greene faction would stand by St. Mark's, "worship there and make no compromise or alliance with the so-called vestry or [its] successors."¹⁶

By this time the *Morning Call*, having rendered to the public its concept of the news, determined that a statement of facts was necessary in order to combat the many falsehoods and differences of opinion expressed by the conflicting parties. The major weakness of the *Call's* reporting on July 30, 1883, was that it did not state where it found its facts nor offer documentary proof of them. However, it presented an interesting account of the situation and added a few more details of the conflict.

On May 27, 1882, reported the *Call*, the Board of Missions had withdrawn the stipend which before had been paid to the missionary in charge of St. Mark's.¹⁷ At that time a meeting, the Rev. Mr. Greene presiding, was held to organize a parish, a vestry was elected, and the newly elected vestry then appointed Greene rector of the church.¹⁸ In order legally to establish a parish organization according to canon law there should have then been made to the Bishop a written declaration reciting the organization. Greene told his vestry that he had made the declaration and that it had been disallowed by the Bishop. Kip replied that no declaration had reached him before Monday of the week of July 30, 1883, and then was obtained "only on imperative demand. . . ."¹⁹

Then, according to the *Call*, the vestry elected May 27, 1882, including the Senior Warden appointed by Greene, refused to participate in

St. Mark's services, and about half the congregation seceded from the church.²⁰ Following this action there was an attempt to raise an issue which, on investigation by the newspapers, proved to be untrue. Certain stories damaging to Greene's reputation were apparently circulated in Berkeley, stories which, according to Greene's resolution, were spread as gossip with the intimation that opposition to the rector was based on them. The opposing group denied that gossip had spurred their actions, or that they had circulated malicious stories or placed credence in them. When asked if the stories were true, the dissenters had replied that they did not know if they were true or false.

Then, said the *Call*, the Bishop had recognized the original vestry officially as "custodians of the temporalities of the church," and had demanded the declaration of parish organization. Following this had come the election of the second, or Greene, vestry and the appointment of D. F. Dahl and William Doxey as wardens.²¹ Speaking as legal adviser, the Chancellor of the diocese then declared that the original vestry should hold office until Easter, 1884, for the reason that, in the election of the Greene vestry, canon law had been ignored. No notice of a parish meeting was given during the Easter service of 1883.²²

Thus the original vestry was declared true and lawful by the Bishop and the Chancellor. This legal vestry now declared the rectorship of St. Mark's vacant and asked Kip to appoint a minister-in-charge until a permanent priest could be elected; David McClure of Oakland was appointed, and letters so announcing were sent to Greene, McClure, and the original vestry. The vestry immediately forced and removed the locks placed by the Greene faction and took over the church building.²³

Legally appointed priest-in-charge, McClure was scheduled to perform services at St. Mark's on Sunday morning, July 29. However, at about nine o'clock that morning the Rev. Mr. Greene and his followers forced open the front door of the church and entered. Greene robed himself in cassock and surplice and commenced reading Morning Prayer. There were present about half a dozen of the ousted missionary's friends, but gradually the church began to fill with members of both factions. Mr. Greene thereupon began a one-man filibuster. He read the entire morning service, using two long chapters from Job for

the first lesson. He then read almost the entire Psalter, following this with a sermon. The sermon completed, Greene next read the Litany, which he followed by the Ante-Communion service. He then ascended the pulpit for another sermon.²⁴

At eleven o'clock the Rev. Mr. McClure appeared, desiring to conduct the service advertised by the original vestry. He walked up the aisle and, standing near the pulpit, courteously asked Greene to recognize his authority. Greene told him somewhat peremptorily to wait until the service had been concluded. Thereupon immediate recognition of the Bishop's authority was demanded and unqualifiedly refused. McClure and his senior warden then withdrew, and at McClure's request no further action was to be taken until Greene finished his second sermon. The legal vestry held a council of war to determine how to proceed.

Meanwhile, during Greene's second sermon, H. J. Berryman, he of the Berryman-Wattles encounter, as a member of the original vestry left the church with his family, followed by all those in the congregation of like mind; a few gentlemen remained behind to settle the possession of the church.²⁵

When the Benediction was finally pronounced, the remaining congregation, about half the original, stayed in the church for some time, except for Mr. Greene, who doffed his vestments and left. Representatives of each group held a parley to determine the disposal of church property, the decision finally being to place it in the hands of Phil Monroe, the Town Marshal. Monroe agreed to give possession of it "only to those holding the written authority of the person entitled to give it." Since title to the property was vested in Bishop Kip as a corporation sole, victory seemed to be assured to the original vestry as recognized by him.²⁶

The *Morning Call* wound up its long exposé by directing attention to what it called an interesting fact concerning the disallowing of Greene's declaration of parish organization by Bishop Kip. Under canonical law, said the newspaper, the Bishop had no right to disallow or to approve a declaration; all he could do was file it.²⁷

On August 4, 1883, Bishop Kip stated through the *Call* that a meeting of the Standing Committee of the diocese (which is advisory to the

Bishop and acts as the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese in his absence) had been held and that the Committee had adopted a resolution upholding his actions in the St. Mark's case. He was advised to recognize the original vestry and to consider null and void any election of Greene as rector of the church by a subsequent vestry. The Committee, it was pointed out, had not allowed rumor concerning Greene's character to affect its judgment.²⁸

So far as Kip was concerned the whole matter, despite subsequent proceedings, was settled by the Committee's support of his actions. The meeting, at which he was present, was held on August 2, 1883, and was reported in the newspaper two days following, but not announced officially and publicly until the diocesan convention of May, 1884. The whole unhappy affair had been carefully studied, and the Committee, learning that no election for vestrymen had been announced or held by Monday of Easter Week, 1883, as required by canon law, advised Kip to recognize the regularly elected vestry of 1882, of which James Palache was senior warden. The Committee also advised the Bishop to exercise the power granted him in Canon V, Section 2, of the Canons of the California Diocese to declare Greene's election by the canonically illegal vestry null and void. This action was taken, and as a result Colonel Ben Morgan of the Greene faction appeared before the Committee on August 28 to argue that the second vestry as well as Greene's election to the rectorship were in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of diocesan canon law. The Committee heard Morgan out, considered his appeal, and then concluded that it saw no reason to change or alter the advice heretofore given the Bishop.²⁹

On August 6, 1883, the *Call* reported that St. Mark's had been closed the previous Sunday and that a keeper guarded the door as had been directed by the town marshal. There had as yet been no order to turn the property over to anyone; the hatchet-scarred door remained padlocked and the church closed. Rumor had it that services would be held in two weeks, probably by Bishop Kip himself. Greene, the *Call* announced, had held services for his adherents in a private residence the day before, August 5.³⁰

Greene and his friends were determined that nothing should keep him away from St. Mark's. Following a bitter letter by the erstwhile

rector to Judge John Hunt of the Superior Court of San Francisco, Greene's adherents petitioned the court to issue a writ of mandamus.³¹ Hunt rendered a decision placing the temporalities of the church in the hands of the petitioners. This permitted Greene to take over St. Mark's again for about three months, ousting the new rector, Giles A. Easton, who had been called by Kip's canonically legal vestry.³²

The Palache faction, the original vestry, naturally attempted to stop execution of the writ of mandamus. They filed immediate notice of and posted the money required to establish an appeal; they also asked the court to fix the amount of an additional sum which they wanted to execute and file in order to stay the execution of the judgment awarding the writ. Judge Hunt could not stop the appeal, but he refused to fix an additional amount, so in addition to appealing his decision the Palache group filed an application for a writ forcing him to do so.³³

When the case reached the California Supreme Court, apparently the Greene faction questioned the legality or right of appeal of a writ of mandamus from Superior Court to Supreme Court; thus, that matter had first to be considered. The Supreme Court determined that although the Constitution of the State of California gave no authority conferring appellate jurisdiction in cases of mandamus, such jurisdiction had been repeatedly exercised and precedent set; therefore an appeal could be taken to the Supreme Court from a judgment of a Superior Court granting or denying application for a writ of mandamus. The Supreme Court also decided that the sum of three hundred dollars posted in accordance with the provisions of Section 941, Code of Civil Procedure, was sufficient to stay execution of the judgment pending appeal. "The application for a writ of mandamus to compel the [Superior] court to fix the amount of an additional undertaking [sum of money] to be given by appellants is denied, as the undertaking already filed stayed the execution of judgment pending the appeal."³⁴ In other words, the right to appeal a writ of mandamus from Superior Court direct to Supreme Court was upheld, and the fund supplied by the appellants to stay execution of judgment was deemed sufficient to set judgment aside, at least temporarily.

This court action ended the question, actually, although no judgment had been made on the appeal. The Palache group immediately hired a

constable to watch the church and keep out the Greene faction. The *Call* reported that on Easter Monday, 1884, the election of a new vestry for St. Mark's would be held and the control of the parish given to it.³⁵ It may be assumed that a new and canonically legal vestry would obviate the necessity of continuing the appeal in court.

Greene's court action apparently raised questions in the minds of his enemies which seemed to necessitate a public clarification of Bishop Kip's stand; evidently Greene or his adherents had implied during the proceedings that the Bishop had possibly favored them. Thus on February 3, 1884, an item in the *Call* gave the Bishop an opportunity to reply to what appear to be two carefully prepared questions, the answers to which left no doubt as to his distaste for Greene and his actions. A vestryman of St. Mark's wrote Kip a letter indicating that word had spread that the Bishop approved of Mr. Greene and supported his claim to the rectorship of the church. The vestry, declared the writer of the letter, had no desire to proceed against the Bishop's wishes, but with the prelate's consent would like to ask two questions and receive his authority to quote the answers.³⁶

First, had "the Rev. E. L. Greene ever received any support or recognition from the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese as Rector of St. Mark's Parish?" Second, had "the Rev. E. L. Greene received from the Bishop of the Diocese any official or personal encouragement in the course he [had] pursued in the assertion of his right to act as Rector of St. Mark's Parish?" Kip replied that the answer to both questions was no, not in any way. Greene had not only ignored the Bishop's authority but also personal appeals made to him.³⁷

Thus Kip, who had been upheld in his actions by a portion of St. Mark's congregation, the Standing Committee, the Chancellor of the diocese, the Board of Missions, and the courts, once more repudiated Greene and his faction. This stand and backing, together with the canonically legal election of a new vestry for St. Mark's during Easter, 1884, and the subsequent election of Giles A. Easton³⁸ as permanent rector of the parish, settled St. Mark's tempest in a teapot.

NOTES

1. San Francisco *Morning Call*, July 4, 1883.
2. This group was apparently led by James Palache, Senior Warden.
3. *Morning Call*, July 4, 1883.
4. *Ibid.*
5. This vestry, herein called the original, or dissenting, vestry, was elected in 1882 and apparently followed canon law, which stated that when a vestry is elected it must be on or as soon as possible after Easter Monday each year. Notification that the election was to be held was to be made during the church service of the previous Sunday. Other regulations were apparently followed also in this case. The question of St. Mark's status as mission or parish was important, for mission property was vested in the Bishop of a diocese and he controlled the mission; parish organizations or corporations owned their property and maintained a great amount of autonomy.
6. *Morning Call*, July 28, 1883. D. O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California from 1849 to 1914* (San Francisco, n. d.), 353, states that a parish organization was formed May 28, 1882. This is the date accepted by Kip and the Standing Committee.
7. *Morning Call*, July 28, 1883.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Dr. David McClure does not appear in Kelley's history of the diocese. He was, however, a convert from Presbyterianism, ordained to the diaconate, and head of a school in San Francisco.
11. *Morning Call*, July 29, 1883.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.* The contract mentioned appears in the argument only this one time. No explanation is given as to what was meant by the term.
15. *Morning Call*, July 29, 1883. The Chancellor, legal adviser to the Bishop and diocese, probably determined the vestry was legal on the basis that it had been elected according to canon law.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Annual Reports of the Board of Missions as printed in the convention journals for 1882, 1883, and 1884 do not mention the withdrawal of this stipend.
18. In the annual parochial report printed in the diocesan convention journal for 1883 Greene is listed as Missionary of St. Mark's, not rector. W. W. Deamer is listed as Warden. Parochial organization is not mentioned. The report of the activities of the convention does not include recognition of this action as reported by the *Call*. See *Journal of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the Protest-*

ant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California (Stockton, 1883), subsequently referred to as JCC.

19. *Morning Call*, July 30, 1883.

20. The question arises, did this original vestry actually elect Greene rector? Its subsequent actions seem to deny the priest's statements that they did. The parochial report showed Deamer as Warden, while the dissenters apparently accepted James Palache as Senior Warden. Of course, Deamer may have been appointed by Greene after the dissent occurred and when Greene saw to it that a vestry favorable to him was elected. That would account for Deamer's listing as warden in the parochial report.

21. The *Morning Call* printed the wrong first initial for Dahl. Neither Dahl nor Doxey was mentioned as wardens in the convention journal of 1883.

22. *Morning Call*, July 30, 1883.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.* The *Call* gave Berryman's initials as H. B., which was incorrect.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.* Kip, however, had apparently accepted parish organization under the Palache group as valid. Perusal of the canons and general regulations for 1882 and 1883 as published in the convention journals for those years does not support the *Call's* contentions.

28. *Morning Call*, August 4, 1883.

29. JCC (May, 1884), 71.

30. *Morning Call*, August 6, 1883.

31. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1884. The writ, of course, ordered the Bishop and the Palache faction to release the church to Greene.

32. *Ibid.* It may be wondered if Hunt paid any attention to canon law when rendering his decision.

33. *Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California* (San Francisco, 1906), Vol. 64, pp. 473-474. The case came before the Supreme Court in January, 1884.

34. *Ibid.*, 475.

35. *Morning Call*, February 4, 1884.

36. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1884.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Easton became rector in 1884 and remained in the post until 1895. See Kelley, 353.

California Prior to Conquest:

A Frenchman's Views

Translated, with an Introduction,

By WILLIAM FINLEY SHEPARD

ON JUNE 11, 1840, the inhabitants of the dusty little village of Monterey, California, were surprised to learn that a French warship was entering the harbor. Their surprise was justified, for few vessels visited this outpost of the Mexican Republic, and even fewer men-of-war made Monterey a port of call. As the citizenry watched, the ship maneuvered closer and closer to shore, closer than necessary for the usual taking on of supplies. Their surprise and curiosity changed to fear, when they saw the vessel anchor just offshore and train its guns on the town. They soon identified the ship as the *Danaïde*, commanded by Captain Joseph de Rosamel, and learned that it had come to Monterey to avenge the reported persecution and murder of French residents of California. Captain de Rosamel was convinced that a great injustice had been done his countrymen; and in order to rectify supposed wrongs, he was prepared, if necessary, to reduce the capital to a pile of adobe dust and splinters.¹

To explain the unexpected appearance of the *Danaïde* and de Rosamel's belligerent actions, one must examine the events in Upper California during the preceding April. Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado, believing that a group of English and American conspirators was planning to gain control of the country, had ordered the arrest of all foreigners who had entered the area illegally. Those who had married native women or had some respectable occupation were not to be molested. The alleged leader of the conspiracy was a Tennessean, Isaac Graham. He and about forty-six other American and English residents were arrested and sent to Mexico for trial. A few French who may have participated in the plot were arrested and then immediately

released. However, de Rosamel, while at Mazatlán preparing the *Danaïde* for a voyage to the Hawaiian Islands, received an erroneous account of the Graham affair. A schooner arriving from Santa Barbara reported that "some foreigners had been arrested and banished and that two Frenchmen had been killed and others wounded." De Rosamel, wishing to obtain redress, set sail immediately for Monterey.²

The customs officials in the capital were understandably alarmed by his threatening gestures and hastened to persuade the captain of the *Danaïde* that the French in Upper California had not been implicated in the affair. After talking with the five or six French residents of Monterey and investigating the incident further, de Rosamel concluded that his compatriots were receiving the governor's "special protection and continual solicitude."³ He may have been disappointed at finding no excuse to exercise the power at his command. Had a single Frenchman been abused by the Mexican authorities, de Rosamel might have exacted very severe revenge, and possibly tried to seize California for the French monarchy.⁴

Two days after the arrival of the *Danaïde*, the Montereños were again alarmed by the appearance of a foreign naval vessel. On June 13, 1840, the American ship *Saint Louis*, commanded by Captain French Forrest, arrived in the port.⁵ Captain Forrest was determined to investigate the arrest and expulsion of American citizens who had supposedly conspired to gain control of California. According to one account, the commander of the *Saint Louis* was authorized only to take depositions and to forward these to the United States government.⁶ However, de Rosamel feared that Captain Forrest might follow a more drastic course, a course which would result in the United States' gaining control of California. De Rosamel's fear of California's falling into the hands of the Americans may explain why he lingered in Monterey for nearly a month. In an incautious moment, Forrest had confided to de Rosamel that he was tempted to arrest Governor Alvarado, but that he feared the consequences of such an action.⁷ De Rosamel may have believed that the presence of the *Danaïde* would keep the American officer from taking any steps which would not be to the advantage of the French monarchy or the French residents of California. At this time there were about sixty Frenchmen in the area, most of whom were landowners.⁸

Since there was no consular agent present, their interests could only be represented by de Rosamel. In any event, the commander of the *Danaïde* remained at Monterey while Forrest made his investigation, and the French man-of-war did not depart for the Hawaiian Islands until about July 9, 1840, after Governor Alvarado and other officials had fled to the interior beyond the reach of the vengeance-seeking Forrest. Alvarado and the other Mexican officials kept at a safe distance from the capital until the *Saint Louis* had set sail.⁹ This terminated one phase of French and American interests in the internal affairs of Mexico.

During their sojourn in Monterey, Captain de Rosamel and his men established amicable relations with the natives. They gave and attended many parties. The women of the town found the French mariners very attractive. At Mass one morning the attentions of the French officers to the young female parishioners were so open that the officiating Father ordered the Gallic suitors to leave. However, the young women insisted that the officers remain, and the Father withdrew his order.¹⁰

While participating in social affairs and in observing the actions of Captain Forrest, de Rosamel formulated several definite and unflattering opinions about California. He found that there was a very real need for a consular agent in California to protect the interests of the French in a land which he held to be totally lacking in order and authority. Of the French residents with whom he talked, he found none whom he could nominate for the position. These men he believed to be wanting in ability and prestige. He also had a very poor opinion of the Mexicans and referred to them as sons of priests and galley slaves. Summarizing current views of the Graham affair, de Rosamel stated that many people believed that Governor Alvarado and his counselors had tried to give the Americans a pretext for seizing Upper California, but that others thought that Alvarado had seized the Americans and Englishmen in order to improve his position with the Mexican government, and that still others believed that Alvarado had been duped by his enemies, who were bent on destroying him. De Rosamel, himself, approved of Alvarado's actions, reasoning that the Americans and Englishmen who were arrested were "good-for-nothing, fearless, homeless people who would sooner or later have become highway robbers."¹¹

Captain de Rosamel performed a valuable service for the student of California history. While in Monterey he gathered important data on California affairs and assembled these, together with his opinions, in the report reproduced below. Particularly enlightening are his views on the secularization of the missions and on political and economic conditions in California. In de Rosamel's eyes the era of the Dons was not one of chivalry and plenty, but a period of corruption, disease, and privation.

While in France, Professor Abraham P. Nasatir of San Diego State College uncovered a copy of de Rosamel's report and deposited a microfilm reproduction in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. Professor George P. Hammond, Director of the Bancroft Library, and Professor Nasatir have generously given their permission to publish de Rosamel's "Upper California."

UPPER CALIFORNIA

The order the Spanish missionaries established, and the work they accomplished in the missions placed them in the most favorable position for foreign trade. Their numerous herds of cattle and sheep and the products of their cultivated fields made it possible for the Fathers to trade with foreigners from whom they obtained articles more useful for the welfare of their Indians and their employees than for themselves. To be sure, all of the mission Indians were then rather like slaves; however, they were fed, clothed, and given perfect treatment. They were a thousand times happier than at the present when their idleness, incompetence, and love of wandering have returned them to that savage state from which they had been dragged with so much difficulty. White men and half-breeds, employed in the missions, found there means of subsistence for themselves and their families. Today, when you locate and question these unhappy people, they curse the absurdity and improvidence of a government which, guided by a stupid policy, has ruined an entire country; a government which, in seizing the missions, has replaced the energetic and industrious Fathers with thieving and inept administrators.

Suspecting that they were going to lose the fruits of their tedious labor and warned that they would be expelled from their estates, the Fathers hastened to extract the greatest possible profits. Convinced that

they would never be indemnified for the losses they would sustain, they killed an enormous quantity of animals, sold the hides and tallow at low prices, not as formerly in exchange for merchandise, but for cash or for drafts on solvent business-houses in Mexico, the United States, or England.

When the order of expulsion arrived, the men sent by Mexico to seize and administer the missions found them already in disorder. This was the inevitable result of the course which the Fathers had been compelled to take. The new administrators' incompetence and cupidity did nothing to re-establish the mission properties on a profitable basis for the republic. Aware of the instability of their government and knowing that the positions they held one day might be taken away the next, these administrators made profitable use of their offices. At that time everything was plundered and squandered. The beautiful missions, which bore witness to the genius of courageous and enterprising men who in less than a century had civilized this vast and wild country, were abandoned. Today, most of the missions are in ruins; they bear witness to the cruelty and incompetence of a nation which, in order to satisfy a foolish spirit of federalism, deprived itself of resources it could have obtained from California. Undoubtedly Mexico could have won California by continuing to treat the priests kindly, priests who had found it convenient and rewarding to remain faithful to the government. The Mexican government ignores entirely the condition of its properties, the transfers of land, and the robbery and plundering which followed the execution of the spoliation decree. Moreover, Mexico does not even know whether California is still a part of the republic, and California wonders whether it is or is not independent. This is a very difficult question to be resolved by the impartial observer who does not really know, after a cursory examination, which opinion to hold. It is very clear that Upper California constitutes a territory dependent upon Mexico, but when one follows the course of events, when one follows the acts of the officials who, when circumstances require it, burn the Mexican flag, expel or persecute the agents of the republic, declare their independence, draw up a constitution, etc., and who a few months later send to Mexico for trial the principal authors of this rebellion, those who have been the power and who have carried the arms—when

one sees this, what is he to think? The lack of communication between these two regions is one obvious cause of this indecision in all actions of the administration. Once a year at the most, orders from the Mexican government can reach California.

It is clearly from this conflict between Upper California and Mexico that the adventurous Americans got the idea to seize this region or, at least, to start a revolution which would work to their benefit. For this attempt, they have been sentenced to deportation, a punishment which does not seem to have been sanctioned in Mexico.

In the plundering and abandonment of the missions, the civilian and military employees lost their positions, and the Indians regained their freedom. The former seized cattle and land where they could and exist miserably enough on their new lands. Those who could not seize anything are either dead or dying of want. Of the Indians who regained their freedom, very few remained on the mission lands, a large number have died from want, and others have returned to savagery in the interior, where they raid neighboring farms and steal all the animals they can.

According to a rough inventory made by order of the government in 1839, the number of cattle in Upper California was estimated to be three hundred thousand head. Of these three hundred thousand animals, sixty to seventy thousand, at the most, belonged to the mission administration.

If one compares this figure of sixty to seventy thousand to that of two hundred and sixteen thousand which the missions possessed in 1831, he can get an idea of the thefts which have been committed and of the poor direction given to the rearing and supervision of these animals.

The commercial system for the coast of Upper California is somewhat odd, and clearly stems from the disorder and squandering which reign in all American countries that were Spanish colonies.

Although Mexican law excludes foreigners from engaging in the coastal trade, the venality of the customs administrators and of the governors permits foreign ships to engage in illicit coastal trade. Here is how this illicit coastal trading is done: a ship anchors in one of the ports where there is a customs collector in residence. Here the ship pays a fee which is supposed to be the same as in Mexico, but the fee is never

the same. According to an arrangement with the customs collector, a small part of the fee is paid in cash and the remainder in merchandise. After this is settled, the ship puts in at the most important ports along the coast, offers each merchant two to three thousand francs worth of merchandise payable at indefinite intervals. Generally the merchants pay promptly, but if one of them has extended credit to the farmers, there is often difficulty in collecting the sums due. Since these payments are made in kind, such as in hides and tallow, and rarely in money, the profits are very great. For this type of commerce, it is necessary to understand the region thoroughly, the agents with whom one does business, and especially how to calculate accurately the period when the creditors will have in their possession articles of exchange; and one must be on time, for everything is handed over to the first ship to arrive. One day late postpones payment for a year. Thus, such-and-such a farmer has a certain number of beef hides and hundredweights of tallow, and he owes twice as much, the first ship that comes in takes everything, the others wait until the following season. This is an established custom in the region and one for which there is no recourse. Frequently one sees ships compelled to depart leaving behind them sums of ten to twenty thousand pesos to be collected, and nothing is more common than hearings in which a plaintiff demands the payment of a seven or eight year old debt.

Beef hides are given in payment at a price of two pesos, although their current value in money is only twelve reals; this constitutes a profit of thirty-three and two-thirds in favor of payment in cash. Tallow is sold at a price of six per hundredweight. Some ships also accept sea otter skins, beaver skins, wines and brandy in payment, but only in small quantities.

Wheat is the object of speculation of the Russian Company of New Archangel, la Bodega and sometimes of the English Company of Hudson Bay on the Columbia River.

The coastal trade is exploited by fourteen vessels. Seven are under the American flag and three legally under the Mexican flag. With the permission of the local authorities, three more are illegally registered under the Mexican flag. An English, a Peruvian, and a Colombian ship are under this flag. Ships other than these fourteen seldom appear on the

coast of Upper California. The thorough knowledge they have of the region gives them an advantage over vessels carrying identical merchandise.

Part of the hides are exported to the United States by American ships, and almost all the tallow goes to Lima.

The smallest of the ships mentioned often makes voyages to the Hawaiian Islands carrying hides, tallow, and live animals. From the Islands it brings back goods from China. These are precious and are in great demand.

The commercial relations of Upper California are very limited. Although Mazatlán, San Blas, and Acapulco are favorably situated to trade with Monterey and the other ports, they receive only a few sea otter skins from this region. These bring extravagant prices in Mexico.

In 1839, the sum total of imports amounted to fifty to sixty thousand pesos. As this merchandise is generally resold at four or five times the original cost, it represents a value of two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand pesos in Upper California. These imports have usually consisted of cotton cloth, coarse woolen material, a very few luxury articles, some iron, tools, hard liquor, salt, American champagne (for this is a branch of industry that they exploit greatly on this coast), some articles from China, etc.

In this region, so poorly populated, trade is so limited that one has difficulty finding the most necessary items, even those of primary necessity. A French ship visiting this coast with a small quantity of items from our shops would make an enormous profit.

I will guarantee complete success to a small vessel bringing to this coast a cargo worth fifteen to twenty thousand pesos consisting of arms, crockery, china, glassware, white cotton cloth, common calico, silk handkerchiefs, satin, taffeta, shawls from Lyon, bolts of merino wool, shawls of merino wool, common French cashmere, linen and coarse cloth, glass, imitation jewelry, ready-made summer and winter clothing, furniture, iron ingots, cheap perfume, agricultural implements, carpenter's tools, nails of all sorts, liqueurs, sweet wines, champagne, braid, lace, and preserves. In order to do well, a schooner would be needed. The captain or supercargo must have *carte blanche* so that the ship can go to Hawaii, Mazatlán, everywhere. Above all, it would

have to be wary of the individuals with whom it did business, for these are not always trustworthy. I believe that with such a cargo, the schooner would not have to fear competition from other ships, for the items mentioned above are lacking and are in great demand. But everything must be in small quantities, for the population is not large and bartering is the method of trading. The ship could profitably sell its hides and tallow to the Americans in the area or sell them in Hawaii. The California wines, too, would be a source for speculation because Hawaii has no wine. The northwest coast—the English and Russian posts, etc.—would be open to such a ship.

In 1839, the total exports from Upper California amounted to about three hundred thousand pesos. This consisted of sixty thousand beef hides at twelve reals; thirty-four thousand hundredweights of tallow at six pesos; fifty hundredweights of beaver skins at two hundred pesos; sea otter skins at thirty-nine pesos per skin; and five thousand hundredweights of wheat sent to the Russian post of la Bodega.

It would be imprudent to guarantee that all of these figures are accurate; one must only consider them as approximations; however, they were given to me by trustworthy men. In a country such as this, where contraband, fraud, and deals with the customs officer are a daily occurrence, it is impossible to obtain accurate figures.

Upper California is a very fertile land and is ideally suited for raising animals, grains, and vines. If this country had originally been colonized by a hardworking and industrious people, today it would occupy a high rung on the commercial ladder; one might also say that it would be the granary, the warehouse of all the lands on the Pacific. Mexico, Central America, Ecuador, and even Peru would be dependent upon her for provisions. Only Chile would be able to compete with Upper California. But depopulated, prey to civil discord, inhabited by a people for whom life's supreme happiness consists of horseback-riding and sleeping, what can you expect from her? Nothing, except conquest by the first people who take the trouble to seize her!

Today, the southern area in the vicinity of Santa Barbara produces a vast quantity of wine and brandy, thanks to the resolute activity of M. Vignes, a Frenchman, who has accumulated a substantial fortune of eighty to one hundred thousand pesos in six years. He supplies the

entire country with wine. Although the wine is not very good, it is fit to drink. It is something like the heavy wine of Provence issued to the crews of our men-of-war.

You find the best land for wheat and other grains in the north around Monterey and San Francisco. Efficient farming is completely unknown. The plough used in the region is the swing plough, a very primitive tool. It was probably the first ever invented. It is impossible to be certain of the quantity of products raised and the amount of land under cultivation. Formerly the missions kept registers in which were recorded the revenues, the quantity of each kind of crop, the exact number of animals, the area of cultivated land, etc. Since the expulsion of the Fathers, these registers, as well as almost all mission papers, have been destroyed, and the new administrators refrain from giving out details which would publicize their wastefulness. It is generally well-known that almost all the land formerly tilled by the Fathers has been abandoned. Now they raise only wheat (the surplus is exported), potatoes, kidney-beans, chick-peas, cantaloupes, and watermelons for local consumption.

The cattle run practically wild and are given no care or supervision except once a year, during a given period, when rodeos are held. A rodeo is a rounding up of the cattle belonging to the ranches. The cattle are driven into enclosures created for this purpose, and they are branded with the mark of their owner.

Beef is the Californian's principal food. It costs almost nothing. Often out in the countryside travelers or ranchers, some distance from their homes, kill an animal, cut off a quarter, and throw away the rest. During the twenty days while the *Danaïde* was at Monterey, the crew had two meals of meat daily. This cost only three hundred pesos. Had the skins been returned, the expense would have been reduced by more than one-half. A beef costs five pesos, a calf two and one-half pesos. One of the former was enough for three or four meals for the crew.

Horses and mules are very common. Habitually used to galloping, the horses are indefatigable. In good or bad weather, they sleep in the open air and live on any grass they find. The price of a good, young, sturdy horse is hardly more than ten to fifteen pesos.

Sheep are very abundant. Since their wool is worthless, they are only

used for food. Their retail price is two pesos. It is surprising that Spain, which produces the most beautiful herds of merinos, imported into its American colonies only the most ordinary species whose wool is totally unsatisfactory for weaving. It is not even more unusual that since the independence of these colonies, no one has dreamed of introducing a sheep which produces a finer fleece? What land other than California can feed them better, in greater quantity, and at a lower cost?

At no time has hog-raising interested Californians. They rarely eat pork, and slaughter hogs only for their fat.

Poultry of all kinds is plentiful. Partridges, quail, rabbits, wild ducks, and other game abound.

In the country side you encounter thousands of deer as large as horses. To get their hides and tallow, Californians hunt them with their lassos. The hides are exported to America, but they are of little value. Almost all of the tallow goes to Lima where it is preferred to beef tallow. I do not understand the reason for this preference. In addition to the large deer, there is a species of roe-deer which makes excellent venison. It would take an entire volume to cover the native animal and vegetable products which are found in Upper California. This is a vast new country where savants would find many original and interesting scientific subjects.

On Point Pinos at Monterey, you find large and strong timbers suitable for masts. Near the seashore were three trees which I had felled. After being worked up, they provided me with spars suitable as yard-arms for the main top sail. Warships need only a permit which allows them to cut all the timber they wish. Commercial vessels must pay two pesos for each tree cut. A mile inland I have seen pines which can be fashioned into mainmasts for three-deckers. After having used this wood for topgallant yards, I have found it a little heavy, but very strong. However, it is true that this wood was put to use only eight days after being cut.

The evergreen-oak is also quite abundant. One sees enormous trees.

At this time, 1840, the population of Upper California can be divided about like this:

| | |
|-----------------------|--------|
| White race | 6,000 |
| Half-breeds | 1,000 |
| Indians | 13,000 |

In 1839, an epidemic of smallpox wrought havoc among the Indians and half-breeds, but few whites were infected. Here, as along the shores of Ecuador and at Guayaquil, vaccine has no effect upon the Indians. This is why they no longer let themselves be vaccinated.

The cities that are the most heavily populated and commercially important are:

Monterey—population five hundred souls, capital of Upper California, residence of the governor-general, a poor city composed of a certain number of irregularly and badly constructed adobes, important merely for its harbor which is safe only in good weather.

Santa Barbara—population six hundred souls, farther to the south without an enclosed harbor, impracticable in bad weather.

Los Angeles—population one thousand five hundred souls, in the interior twelve leagues from its port, San Pedro, which has an open harbor worse than Santa Barbara's.

San Francisco—population too scattered to be counted, the largest and northernmost harbor. The description given of it in Beechey is far from being in its favor, strong currents, some distance from fresh water, sandbanks prevent debarkation at low tide, this is enough to destroy the reputation of the most beautiful of harbors.

The Indians no longer receive religious instruction. Part of those whom the Fathers won for the Catholic church remain faithful. Some have fled to areas inhabited by uncivilized Indians, and in taking up their former life, they have forgotten everything about the Catholic faith. In spite of the fact that the mission Indians referred to above live with whites, about half of them worship idols.

Except for those who remain to serve in the churches, the Mission Fathers have almost entirely disappeared from Upper California. There are about sixty Frenchmen located in the region of Upper California. Most of them are ranchers or farmers and live in the countryside in a truly peasant fashion. Almost all are married to natives, and I believe that they probably have no idea of returning to France. From my own observations and from what I was told, few of these Frenchmen enjoy a wholesome reputation.

Sometime ago, quite a number of whalers sailing along the northwest coast put into Monterey Bay; however, many sailors deserted and were

protected by the local authorities. This forced these ships to abandon their policy of stopping over in Monterey. Today, instead of protecting deserters, the governor arrests all sailors who do not have passes. But the die is already cast. California has not only lost the whale business, but the profits she used to derive from the sale of provisions to the whalers.

Along the northwest coast, about twenty leagues off shore, the American whalers make excellent catches. About a year ago, one of the American whalers put into Monterey. In three months it had accumulated seventeen hundred barrels of oil. Apparently if you go far out from the coast, you will catch nothing. It is almost certain that if you sail into the open sea north and northwest of Hawaii, your cruise will be in vain. During my stay at Monterey and during my navigation along the coast, I encountered many of these cetaceans.

The navigation northward from the coast of Mexico to Upper California is exactly the same as that from Lima to Valparaiso. In the summer the winds and currents along the coast are invariably from the northwest. Often in the winter, violent winds come from the southeast, south, and southwest. While continually holding to a starboard tack when you leave the coast of Mexico, you encounter, in the open sea, trade winds from the northeast. These raise suddenly at thirty to thirty-five degrees latitude, where you encounter strong west to northwesterly winds which carry you to the northwest coast.

Poor weather on the coast of Upper California lasts from November to April. Rains are frequent, and the winds are southeasterly to southwesterly. They are very bad. From April to August, very thick fog covers the ground and makes landings difficult, but often it disappears around nine or ten in the morning. There is a high degree of humidity. It is cold, but the winds are never strong and are mainly from the northwest.

In the months of August, September, and October, fog is rare and raises with the sun, the temperature is hot, and the weather is continually very fine.

Monterey Bay is an excellent anchorage from April to October. During the bad season, the winds enter the bay from the north and northeast. That they are rather dangerous is a fact attested to by the

wreck of a whaler half-buried in the sand. The water I was able to obtain after some difficulty was at first fit to drink and then became brackish, so that in Hawaii I had it thrown out.

As a maritime supply-point, Monterey offers enough resources—construction timbers and other lumber are waiting to be cut; all kinds of fresh food at a very low price—according to the season, flour may be bought for ten or fifteen pesos per hundredweight; the flour is not very well milled and lasts for a short time, but it makes a good biscuit. The American corvette *Saint Louis* had biscuits and salted meat prepared on shore. The biscuits brought her fifteen hundred pesos per hundredweight and cost her ten pesos. The animals supplied her with at least two hundred kilograms of meat. Her crew did all of the work. As for other materiel, you cannot count on any.

On board the *Danaïde*, August, 1840

[Signed] J. de Rosamel

Commander of the *Danaïde*

NOTES

1. William D. Phelps, *Fore and Aft; or Leaves from the Life of an Old Sailor* (Boston: Nichols and Hall, 1871) p. 35; Alfred Robinson, *Life in California: During a Residence of Several Years in that Territory* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846), p. 183; Abraham P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California; An Archival Calendar-Guide* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1945), p. 35; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), IV, p. 35.

2. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 35; and Nasatir, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

3. De Rosamel to Governor Alvarado, Monterey, California, July 1, 1840, in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55. Original letter is in Bancroft Library, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo manuscript collection.

4. Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 251 and Nasatir, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

5. De Rosamel to Baron de Cyprey, Monterey, California, July 8, 1840, in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-57. See also Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 251 and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

6. Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

7. De Rosamel to de Cyprey, Monterey, California, July 8, 1840, in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-57. Apparently Forrest made a similar statement to other individuals, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 37, fn. 63.

8. De Rosamel in his "Upper California" states that there were sixty French residents in California. Eugene Duflot de Mofras, who visited California shortly after de Rosamel, reported the French population, including a few Canadians, to be eighty. See his *Travels on the Pacific Coast*, translated and edited by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1937), I, p. 163.

9. De Rosamel to de Cyprey, Monterey, California, July 8, 1840, in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-57. De Rosamel states that Forrest was still in port and that the *Danaïde* was scheduled to sail on July 9. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6 states that de Rosamel sailed on July 2 and that Forrest left on July 4, while Alvarado was still absent from Monterey.

10. Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

11. De Rosamel to de Cyprey, Monterey, California, July 8, 1840, in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-57.

Food Habits of Nineteenth-Century California Chinese¹

By ROBERT F. G. SPIER

CHINESE FOODS, so long a part of the western American scene, were introduced to the United States with the first waves of Chinese immigrants. Naturally, this development on the West Coast was predicated on a supply of the traditional ingredients. Since these were forthcoming at an early date, it may be argued that the Chinese, however they may have changed in other respects, were not forced to alter their customary eating habits. There is good reason to suppose that no Chinaman, as long as he remained in the company of his fellows, ever had to rely for long on Occidental foods.

The Chinese continued to eat their customary foods despite emigration to a foreign land, and the manner in which this accustomed diet was supported likewise underwent little change. Not only was there a continuation of habits of diet, but also of the techniques of food production as evidenced in the implements involved. Furthermore it may be demonstrated that the Chinese had the components of a richly varied diet.

Prior to the Gold Rush in '49 the number of Chinese in the western United States was insignificant, the large scale immigration having its beginning about 1850. From the comments of contemporary observers, such as Borthwick, it is apparent that Chinese foods quickly found their way to American shores, either accompanying or quickly following the immigrants. He wrote, with reference to the period 1851-1854, that there were Chinese "stores stocked with hams, tea, dried fish, dried ducks, and other very nasty-looking Chinese eatables, besides copper pots and kettles, fans, shawls, chessmen, and all sort of curiosities."² A complaint was voiced about this date concerning the failure of

Chinese miners to buy anything, except boots and mining implements, from American storekeepers, leaving the presumption that they bought their foodstuffs from Chinese merchants.³ In support of this contention may be cited the evidence of food imports from China appearing in the manuscript records of the U. S. Custom House at San Francisco.⁴ As early as 1852 substantial shipments of food arrived from Hongkong, consigned to Chinese firms. While some items in these invoices, e.g., salt beans, macaroni, or vinegar, may have found their way down Occidental gullets, others are clearly for Chinese consumption. A typical invoice of the period includes: "oranges, pumelos, dry oyster, shrimps, cuttle fish, mushrooms, dry bean curd, bamboo shoots, narrow leaved greens, yams, ginger, sugar, rice, sweetmeats, sausage, dry duck, eggs, dry fruit, salt ginger, salt eggs."⁵ Among the foods on other invoices are tea oil, dry turnips, bettlenut, orange skins, kumquat, duck liver, melon seed, dried duck kidneys, minced turnips, shrimp soy, chestnut flour, birds' nests, fish fins, arrowroot, tamarind, dried persimmons, dried guts, bean sauce, lily seed, beche de mer, Salisburia seed, taro, and seaweed. A check of invoices in this collection covering the years 1850 through 1854 reveals that the majority of shipments from the Far East contained food or potables (tea, brandy, etc.). Specifically, food or drink appeared on 79 of 118 invoices. In a number of instances the consignees of tea, brandy, or eggs were Occidentals, though even here the goods may not have gone to Occidental consumers since some consignees were actually brokers, not merchants. Some few invoices covered surplus ship's stores, again of Chinese foods. An enumeration of foods shipped to obviously Chinese consignees totals 131 distinct items. Duplicates were eliminated from this list, but one cannot be assured that "dried greens" and "native greens" were not different, therefore both entries were included in the count. On the other hand, "tea" was entered only once despite the several varieties imported.

In addition to foods, there was substantial importation of domestic utensils including culinary items. Chinaware, wooden ware, bamboo ware, lacquer ware, iron and copper pans, chopping knives, chopsticks, ladles, tongs, and mills appear on the invoices. Despite the vagueness of some entries, it is clear that the Chinese were using their accustomed household implements.

It is probable that, within two decades of their landing in force, the Chinese on the West Coast were growing some of their own food, since they were engaged in truck farming. Some Chinese were share-cropping; others are simply reported as truck gardeners.⁶ By 1872 Nordhoff wrote that the Chinese were producing two-thirds of all vegetables eaten in California.⁷ The modes of farming followed, in some respects, those traditional in China. The Auburn *Stars and Stripes* commented, unfavorably, on the use of human excrement and urine as fertilizer on the Chinese truck gardens in that vicinity.⁸ "Night soil," as it is euphemistically called, is a standard feature of East Asiatic agriculture. Some irrigation methods were likewise transplanted, for the Chinese farmers of the Cariboo region in British Columbia used a current-powered wheel to lift water into flumes.⁹ A wheel comparable to the one described appears in both old and new authorities on Chinese tools.¹⁰ Additionally, a Chinese pumping device, used by Chinese miners in California to pump seepage from their operations, was reported by Borthwick about 1852.¹¹ As used for irrigation, this chain pump appears both earlier and later in agricultural contexts in China.¹² It may have been used in California for irrigation of crops where stream flow was insufficient to turn a wheel.

Seafood is a major constituent of South Chinese cookery, while flesh plays a minor role. Again we find evidence of local production of foods, with accompanying transfer of techniques, for the Chinese early entered the West Coast fishing industry. In spite of the general absence of specific dates for the establishment of Chinese fishing, we may estimate that it was well started by 1860. A Chinese fishing village—comprising 150 men and 25 boats—was reported at the mouth of Mission Creek, near San Francisco, as early as 1854.¹³ The Monterey salmon fishery was started in 1853 by Chinamen; and at Humboldt Bay, on the northern California coast, a colony of fishermen antedated 1857.¹⁴ On the basis of Jordan's survey, of other comments, and of the importance of the Chinese in the industry, one might hazard the guess that virtually all the Chinese fishing villages of California were established by the 1870's. It is difficult to ascertain how many colonies existed but by 1890 the following places had, or had had, one or more fishing villages: Rio Vista (on the Sacramento River), San Pablo Bay, Point San Pedro

(Marin County), Bay View (South San Francisco), Oakland, Pescadero (San Mateo County), Soquel (Santa Cruz County), Carmel, Point Mugu, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. As some indication of the numbers involved, in 1875 upwards of 1500 Chinese were estimated as engaged in shrimp fishing on San Francisco Bay, though a slightly earlier report, for 1874-75, gives a figure of several hundred.¹⁵ The influence of Chinese fishermen waxed and waned during the period 1860 to 1890. While certain aspects of the industry in some areas were established or dominated by them, the Chinese were largely supplanted by Mediterranean immigrants.

The vessels used followed Chinese patterns, but seem to have been locally constructed. Jordan reported in 1890 the eleven junks at Bay View, South San Francisco, were built of redwood by the Chinese themselves. Two more were under construction at Point San Pedro, Marin County. Twelve boats at Pescadero, characterized as clumsy and crudely-built, were homemade, while the junks at San Diego may have been locally made or imported.¹⁶ Another, later, account states that the San Diego and San Francisco junks were built in California of redwood, though registered as alien vessels.¹⁷ There is a good chance, however, that some of the West Coast junks may have originated in China, having been sailed over or brought, possibly in pieces, on other vessels. The probability of the latter mode of importation is supported by the importation of pre-cut houses from China. A lack of lumber during the earlier years, the 1850's and '60's, which would also have affected boat building, was primarily responsible for this. Even vessels for Occidental usage were not built in any numbers on the Coast prior to 1865, but were brought as lumber or prefabricated hulls from the eastern seaboard.¹⁸

Techniques familiar to Chinese fishermen were transplanted to California, as confirmed by a contemporary account of Chinese fishing at home.¹⁹ Predominant among these methods was the use of set nets of various kinds. Some of the equipment may also have been directly of Chinese origin, though the evidence is slight. A box of fish nets was imported by one Hung Yun (or Hong Yune) on the American bark *Wild Hunter* from Hongkong in 1860.²⁰ The bulk of the equipment, which involved no exotic materials, was doubtless made by Chinese on American shores.

Of the wide variety of marine life available in California waters, we find that at least the following were taken: salmon, sturgeon, smelt, flounders, sculpins, shrimp, abalone, crabs, and oysters.²¹ Anchovies were also caught, possibly only for bait.²² Seaweed was collected by members of the Monterey fishing colony before the turn of the century, if one may trust the evidence of contemporary photographs.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. The research on which this study is based was made possible by a grant-in-aid from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., New York. Grateful acknowledgment is made of this assistance.

2. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh, 1857), p. 75.

3. Hinton R. Helper, *The Land of Gold. Reality versus Fiction* (Baltimore, 1855), p. 95.

4. Bancroft Library, University of California.

5. *Loc. cit.*, Box 45, invoice of goods to Quang Yuen (otherwise King Yuen) aboard British bark *Robina* from Hongkong, April, 1854.

6. A. W. Loomis, "How Our Chinamen Are Employed," *Overland Monthly*, o.s. Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1869), p. 234; Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, Mass., 1866), p. 238.

7. Charles Nordhoff, *California: for Health, Pleasure, and Residence* (New York 1872), p. 90.

8. August (no day) 1865, in *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 6, p. 28, Bancroft Library, University of California.

9. Church of England Missions, British Columbia. *Eighth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission, for the year 1866* (London, 1867), p. 46.

10. Sung Ying-Hsing, *T'ien Kung Kai Wu* (Hongkong, 1955?), p. 23 (originally published in 1637); Rudolf P. Hommel, *China at Work* (New York, 1937), fig. 175.

11. Borthwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-6.

12. Sung Ying-Hsing, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Hommel, *op. cit.*, fig. 80.

13. *Chamber's Journal*, Jan. 21, 1854, p. 48.

14. J. M. Guinn, *History and Biography Record of Monterey and San Benito Counties* (Los Angeles, 1910), I, 295; David Starr Jordan, "A Geographical Review of the Fishing Industries and Fishing Communities for the year 1890," in George Brown Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the United States*.

U. S. Senate. 47th Cong., 1st Sess., Misc. Doc. 124, pts. 1-7, 1887, sec. II (pt. 3), p. 622.

15. San Francisco *Daily Bulletin*, Jan. 12, 1875; California, Commissioners of Fisheries. 3rd *Biennial Report* (1874-75), pp. 13-14.

16. Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 612, 620, 603, 596.

17. J. W. Collins, "The Fishing Vessels and Boats of the Pacific Coast." U. S. Fish Commission, *Bulletin*, Vol. 10, for 1890 (Washington, 1892), pp. 46-8.

18. John Frost, *Frost's Pictorial History of California* (Auburn, N. Y., 1853), p. 100; Frank Soulé et al., *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 387; Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, Conn., 1869), p. 437; Henry Hull, "Ship-Building Industry in the United States," Dept. of the Interior, Census Office, 10th Census (Washington, 1884), VIII, p. 131; for detailed description of these vessels see: Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-8, pl. 15-17.

19. Pierre Dabry de Thiersant, *La Pisciculture et la Pêche en Chine* (Paris, 1872).

20. Custom House Records, Box 72.

21. Guinn, *op. cit.*, I, 295; San Francisco *Daily Bulletin*, Jan. 12, 1875; California, Commissioners of Fisheries. 15th *Biennial Report* (1897-98), pp. 18-19; Nordhoff, *California*, p. 245; Richard Rathbun, "The Crab, Lobster, Crayfish, Rock Lobster, Shrimp, and Prawn Fisheries," in Goode, *op. cit.*, Sec. V, Vol. 2, p. 658.

22. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 603.

Book of Remembrance

Established in 1945

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed for the last two years.

1957

Harry C. Bell
Christine Pomeroy Brooke
Alma Sherman Chickering
Oscar Cooper
Thomas Graham Crothers
Angelo R. Duperu
George Filmer
Herbert Fleishhacker
Rita Manning Foster
Dorothy Bretag Gabrielson
Hugh Currin Githens
Joseph T. Grace
Mable Thompson Haas
Phil Townsend Hanna
Walter Scott Hobart
J. J. Jackson
Otis R. Johnson
Gareth Kellman
Alfred Brooks Kennedy
Shuey Kroll
Azro N. Lewis
George David Louderback
Zella Jane McCreary

Helen Baker McGavin
Richard McLaren
Tulita Wilcox Miner
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Cornelius D. O'Sullivan
Paul Paine
John Parker
Ralph Larose Phelps
Eloise La Vanche Moore Pius
Mary Easton Porter
Ruth Sheffield Reid
Charles McDowell Sharpsteen
W. Foster Stewart
William E. Swallow, Jr.
Henry Raup Wagner
Matt Wahrhaftig
Reginald Foshay Walker
Katherine Ray Wickson
Josefa Peralta Wilson
Leo Klays Wilson
Theodore Wores

1958

J. Frederick Ast
Alice Mayhew Allen
Geraldine Bliss Brook
Twohy Brusstar
Allen Lawrence Chickering
Arthur E. Corder
E. S. Egbert
Emma Gordon Hare
Beulah Lanyon Hostetter
Charles Curtiss Judson
Susan A. Judson
Douglas McGlashan Kelly, M.D.

Olive Holbrook Palmer
Laura Doe Pettigrew
Mrs. Mary L. Raggio
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Frank Alton Somers
Judson Somers
Elisabeth Wade Stadtmuller
Elizabeth Henry Stephenson
Edith Lynn Walker
Willard Forsythe Williamson
Ella Sherburn Yoerck

GIFTS OF RECOGNITION

To honor the following persons, friends of the Society have made substantial monetary or other gifts:

Rockwell Dennis Hunt

In Memoriam

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

ALLEN LAWRENCE CHICKERING died January 6, 1958, at Merritt Hospital, Oakland, at the age of eighty years, having suffered a stroke on Christmas Day at his Piedmont home. His wife, the former Alma Sherman, died last June after the fifty-fourth anniversary of their marriage.

Born in Oakland September 20, 1877, Allen came from an old New England family descended from Henry Chickering of Suffolk County, England. His father, William Henry Chickering was born at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. A graduate of Amherst College in 1871 and Boston Law School he came to California in 1873. In 1875 he joined William Thomas, a graduate of Harvard, to form the law firm of Chickering and Thomas. In 1893 Warren Gregory, a graduate of the University of California and Hastings College of Law, joined Chickering and Thomas to make the firm of Chickering, Thomas and Gregory. On January 1, 1901, the firm divided again and became Chickering and Gregory, continuing to date. Allen Chickering became a member of the firm January 1, 1903, and became the senior partner after the deaths of his father in 1915 and Warren Gregory in 1927.

It is an interesting fact to note that a history of my family published in 1879, in recording the history of its founder in America, states: "The original inventory of his estate, taken February 5, 1659, by John Chickering, is still on file in the Boston Probate Office." So there was a lawyer among the members of the first Chickering family in America.

My life has been so intertwined with that of Allen Chickering from childhood that it would be difficult for me to keep myself out of an account of his early activities. Always, Allen had a great love for natural beauty and exploration. On our first outing together, when twelve years of age, we walked to the summit of Mt. Diablo and back from Berkeley in three days, staying both nights at the farm house of the Moses family near the foot of the mountain. We carried one shot gun. As an example of Allen's remarkable memory, for which he was famous, while driving less than a year ago along what had been the same road we followed, near Lafayette he pointed up to a rock and remarked "remember you shot a rabbit there on that walk we took to Diablo." That was the beginning of many such excursions into the hills in the bay counties.

Besides hunting, Allen soon developed a great interest in botany, especially in wild flowers. So much so that late in his teens some of his friends nick-named him "Calochortus Albus." (In 1938 the Santa Ana Botanic Garden published his treatise on "The growth and culture of Calochortus Albus").

We spent all the time of our college summer vacations in the years 1895 and 1896 exploring in the High Sierra. In the latter year, having joined the Sierra Club, we made the first trip ever made down the Sierra Range from Yosemite

to Kings River Canyon, much of the way without trails. We led three pack horses. The United States Geological Survey did not start mapping this mountain area until after the turn of the century, so one of our objectives was to obtain topographic data and photographs to assist Joseph Le Conte, Jr., in making his Sierra Club map of the High Sierra. Allen made the most of this opportunity to study the wild flowers and other flora of this vast wilderness. During his lifetime he visited all parts of the State identifying and studying its wild flowers until he became recognized as an authority on the wild flower life of California. He was gifted in the art of hunting and trout fishing which he enjoyed to the end of his days, often combining these sports with his botanical explorations.

From the time of its establishment thirty years ago, Allen had been Chairman of the Board of Trustees at the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden in Southern California, devoted to the study and growth of the native plants of California. He was also a Director of the Stribling Arboretum in Golden Gate Park. At his home in Piedmont part of the large garden was devoted to wild flowers, the seeds of which he had collected over many years. From his summer home at Soda Springs on the headwaters of the north fork of the American River, which he acquired in 1928, Allen had access to a vast area of High Sierra with streams, lakes, forests and meadows in which to fish and hunt and where his favorite mountain wild flowers grow in abundance. He has described them in a book "Wild Flowers Around Soda Springs" in which is inscribed "Written for his grandchildren—by Allen L. Chickering." This beautifully situated mountain home has been the place where the family gathered each summer and where many friends have shared their hospitality.

As would be supposed Allen was a conservationist. Besides being a member of the Sierra Club since 1896 he was a member of the Save-The-Redwoods League since 1919 and one of its Councillors for twenty-eight years, aiding in the work of that organization. To it private individuals have given millions of dollars which were matched by State funds to acquire a substantial area of our finest redwood forests and thus preserve them in their natural state of beauty for posterity by including them in the State Park system.

Another of Allen's interests was California history. He joined the California Historical Society in 1923, was elected a Director January 1, 1931, serving until his death, and was its President from 1934 to 1942. For many years he served as Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Quarterly, to which he contributed many articles.

Thus Allen's love of natural beauty, his desire for its preservation, his interest in the flora and history of his State, have all contributed to the record of service to his fellowman.

Two Chickering Memorials will be founded. An acquisition fund has been established by the California Historical Society to receive contributions from

fellow members and friends for the purchase of California art, to be known as the Allen L. Chickering Memorial Collection. A fund created by generous contributions from many friends to The Save-The-Redwoods League will be used to establish the Allen Lawrence Chickering and Alma Sherman Chickering Memorial Grove in one of the State Redwood Parks on the Redwood Highway.

Turning to Allen's professional career the record is one of outstanding achievement. He graduated from the University of California in 1898 with the degree of A.B. His legal education was obtained at Harvard Law School, 1898-1900, and University of California Law School where he received the LL.B. degree in 1901. He was then admitted to the California bar and the law firm of Chickering and Gregory. Over the years he became a director and member of the Executive Committee of Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company and Southern Pacific Company; director of Standard Pacific Gas Line Inc., Caterpillar Tractor Company, Schmidt Lithograph Company, Founders Fire and Marine Insurance Company and Riverside Cement Company; vice president and director of the San Diego Gas and Electric Company. During the first world war he was a member of the General Executive Board of all Liberty Loan Drives in the Twelfth Federal Reserve District. He was a trustee of Hastings College of Law, San Francisco, member of the American Bar Association of San Francisco; the State Bar of California; the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

He was a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon and Phi Delta Phi fraternities, the Country Club of Marin, the Pacific Union and Commercial Clubs, San Francisco, and the Harvard and Lawyers Clubs, New York.

Two sons, Allen L., Jr., and Sherman, survive him, both members of the law firm of Chickering and Gregory. He also is survived by a daughter, Mary Erdmann of Honolulu, nine grandchildren, four great-grandchildren and a sister, Martha Chickering. Another son, William H. Chickering, was killed at Lingayen Gulf, Philippines, during World War II.

The record of the life of Allen Chickering speaks for itself. He was a man of great ability and of unimpeachable integrity, loyal to his friends. Such a man will be greatly missed by all who knew him and who join his family in mourning his death.

WALTER A. STARR

HENRY WALTER GIBBONS, M.D.

DR. HENRY WALTER GIBBONS died at his home in San Francisco on February 6, 1958, after a long illness. He was 80 years old. He was fourth in line of physicians in his family, and third in line of San Francisco doctors. He was born in San Francisco in 1877.

Doctor Gibbons attended Lowell High School and the University of California, from which he was graduated in 1899. He then attended Cooper Medical College, now Stanford University School of Medicine, receiving his M.D. degree in 1902. His father, Henry Gibbons, Jr., was Dean of Cooper Medical School.

Doctor Gibbons served as Instructor in Pathology under Dr. William Ophüls from 1902 to 1911, and then went to Freiburg, Germany, for a year's post-graduate study. On returning, he entered the practice of obstetrics and gynecology, and was Assistant Clinical Professor of Gynecology at Stanford Medical School until 1924.

In 1924, Doctor Gibbons retired from active practice and became Assistant Medical Director of the Western States Life Insurance Company, and later, when it became the California-Western States Life Insurance Company, Medical Director and Vice President. At this time, 1931, he moved to Sacramento, where he and his wife, Hazel Nonan Gibbons, resided until he retired from the company in 1948. He and Mrs. Gibbons came back to San Francisco to live in 1948. In 1949, Mrs. Gibbons died.

He was a life-long and devoted member of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.

Doctor Gibbons enjoyed painting in oil and water colors during the latter years of his life, many of his subjects being scenes in the Sierra, the country he loved so much. He also spent a great deal of spare time in cabinet work. He exhibited a few of his paintings at the American Medical Association Medical Art Exhibit in 1945, and again in 1946. He was also persuaded to show some of his pieces of furniture at the exhibit in San Francisco in 1946, and was awarded first prize for their excellence in this division of art.

Doctor Gibbons was a former member of the Association of Life Insurance Medical Directors, and was Chairman of the Medical Section of the American Life Convention in 1929 and in 1930. He was Secretary of the California Academy of Medicine from 1905 to 1910, and was a retired member of the Sacramento Medical Society, California Medical Association and the American Medical Association.

A memorial resolution in tribute to him was enacted by the Board of Directors of the California-Western States Life Insurance Company and reads in part as follows:

WHEREAS, the attainments and stature of California-Western States Life Insurance Company are attributable in important part to the careful planning and

development which Doctor Gibbons brought to the medical and medical underwriting phase of the company's operations from its very inception in San Francisco in 1910 and which have continued without interruption; and

WHEREAS, Doctor Gibbons' engaging personality, his humor, his breadth of knowledge and understanding and his appreciation of the arts have helped to enrich the lives of many officers and employees of California-Western States Life Insurance Company.

Doctor Gibbons is survived by two sons, Dr. Henry Gibbons, III, and Walter Bronson Gibbons, and two sisters, Mrs. Edward M. Shinkle and Mrs. E. D. Woodruff.

HENRY GIBBONS, III

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

JEAN MARTIN (Mrs. Fred H.) has been the curator for the Society's collections since November 1, 1957. She is a graduate of the University of California and included in her experience is employment at the Oakland Art Museum, the California College of Arts and Crafts, and the cataloguing of various private art collections. Her work on the Louis Sloss, Jr., Collection continues her interest and research in the field of California painting.

LIONEL U. RIDOUT, with the exception of a year in the army, has spent most of his life in San Diego, where he now holds the position of Professor of History at San Diego State College. He received his B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley, and his Ph.D. from the University of Southern California. Dr. Ridout has a special interest in the history of the Episcopal Church in California and was recently appointed a member of the Department of College Work for the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles.

ROBERT F. G. SPIER, born in Seattle, Washington, and a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, was awarded A.M. (1949) and Ph.D. (1954) degrees by Harvard University. While at Harvard he was a Robert C. Winthrop Scholar and a Hemenway Fellow. Dr. Spier has contributed to the *American Anthropologist*, *Man*, and the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, and conducted extensive research on the ethnography of California Indians. He is currently teaching at the University of Missouri and is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology.

HENRY P. BEERS received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1935, and since 1936 has served as an archivist and historian for the Federal Government. Since 1950 he has been assistant editor of the *Territorial Papers of the United States* in the National Archives in Washington, D. C. Dr. Beers' books include *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846*; the standard reference work, *Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials and Research*; and *The French in North America*, a bibliographical guide to French archives, reproductions, and research missions.

WILLIAM F. SHEPARD, a native of Fresno, California, received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in history from the University of California. He is an assistant Professor of Speech and serves as the Dean of Men and Associate Dean of Students at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1953 he published *Price Control and the Reign of Terror*, a monograph dealing with economic aspects of the French Revolution.

DISTINGUISHED EDITORIAL SERVICE

MISS GLADYS C. WICKSON retired on December 31, 1957, from the editorship of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, a position she had held for a little over thirteen years. She was appointed to the post in November, 1944, by Dr. George D. Lyman, President of the Society, as the first full time occupant of the position. As such, she followed a series of distinguished volunteer editors.

She brought to her task a varied and useful experience from which the Society has profited. She graduated from the University of California in 1905. After graduation she was an assistant to her father, Professor E. J. Wickson of the University of California, who in addition to his academic duties was editor of the *Pacific Rural Press*. A number of years later, she returned to the University to obtain a Masters Degree. While working for the degree she was employed by the University Press. In 1928, she received her Masters Degree from the University of California.

Shortly afterwards, she went east and entered Radcliffe for a second Masters Degree. On receiving that degree in 1931, she entered the employ of Harvard University in the Department of Astronomy. Here, she shortly became the editor of the *Harvard Observatory Bulletin*, continuing in this position until 1941, when she returned to her family in California because of ill health.

On assuming the editorship of the *Quarterly*, she plunged with enthusiasm into the sorting out and appraising of the, as yet, unpublished material tendered for publication. Concurrently, with her editorial duties throughout these thirteen years, she has studied the source materials available, to check on the vast variety of subjects that have come to the Society for publication. She has unearthed in private hands some hitherto unknown records well worthy of publication, and has handled the contacts with the public with a cordiality and interest that were valuable assets to the Society.

The thirteen volumes of the *Quarterly* that have been issued under her guiding hand will be a lasting memorial to a task well done.

ANSON S. BLAKE

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CALIFORNIA
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QUARTERLY

June 1958

California Historical Society Quarterly

DONALD C. BIGGS, *Director and Editor*

Vol. XXXVII

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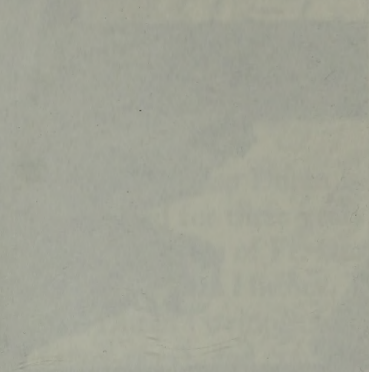
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Letters of Narciso Duran

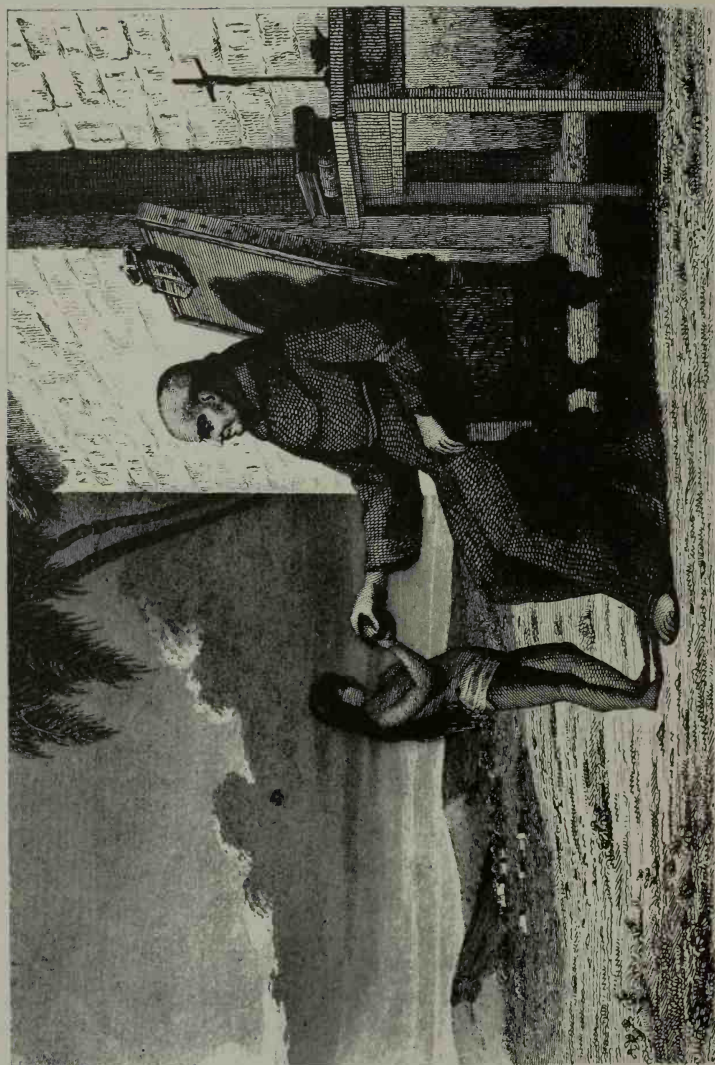
From the collection of the

Handwritten
1714
1715



For many years, the letters of Narciso Duran have been a source of interest to the public. The letters are written in a clear, elegant hand, and they contain a wealth of information about the life and times of the author. The letters are arranged in chronological order, and they cover a period of about twenty years. The letters are written to a variety of people, including family members, friends, and colleagues. The letters are written in a style that is both personal and professional, and they are a valuable source of information about the life and times of the author.

Narciso Duran was a Spanish writer and a member of the Real Academia de la Lengua. He was born in 1714 in the town of San Juan de los Rios, in the province of Seville. He received the Dominican habit in the monastery of Gerona. He was ordained a priest in 1740, and three years later embarked for Mexico for service as a missionary priest. He was accompanied by Fr. Buenaventura Ferrer, who remained as his constant companion throughout the year. He served in San Juan until he was affectionately mentioned in these letters as "my Father Ventura."



FATHER NARCISO DURÁN

An illustration from *Exploration du Territoire de L'Oregon, des Californies, et de la Mer Vermelle*, by M. Duflot De Mofras.

From the Society's collection.

Letters of Narciso Durán

*From the manuscript collections
in the California Historical Society Library*

Translated by FRANCIS PRICE

INTRODUCTION

THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION of original letters of Narciso Durán is of special interest to the writer, who has been engaged for three years in collecting, translating, and editing the available writings of Fr. Durán for publication by the Academy of American Franciscan History. The Society's file is the largest collection extant of Durán's writings for the period of his service at San José Mission (1808-1833), and constitutes about ten per cent of the entire number of his writings to be contained in the forthcoming publication.

Each of the thirty-six letters in the Society's archives is directed to the Reverend Father Procurator of the Franciscan College of San Fernando in Mexico City. The Father Procurator was responsible for supplying the Franciscan missions, and for the direction of their fiscal affairs. Even in their limited area the letters reveal something about the writer and his time.

Father Narciso Durán was the last of the *presidentes* of the California missions, and the first Franciscan friar to serve as *presidente* of the entire chain of twenty-two missions. During the forty years he spent in missionary service in California, Father Durán was an active participant in the exciting developments which helped to form that era of California history.

Narciso Durán was born on December 16, 1776, at La Villa de Castellón de Ampurias in Catalonia, Spain. In 1792, at the age of fifteen, he received the Franciscan habit in the monastery of Gerons. He was ordained a priest in 1800, and three years later embarked for Mexico for service as a missionary friar. He was accompanied by Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni, who continued as his constant companion throughout the years of his service at San José and is affectionately mentioned in these letters as "my Father Ventura."

After three years of training in the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Durán and Fortuni were in 1806 assigned to the Mission of San José in California, where Durán remained until 1833. He became pastor of the Mission in 1806, and in 1825 was appointed *presidente* of the California missions for his first term, which ended in 1827. Due to Durán's refusal to take the prescribed oath to the Mexican constitution he had been marked for expulsion as *persona non grata*. Therefore the Mexican government prevented his reappointment as *presidente*. However, in 1831 he regained the office with the added duties of vice-prefect, vicar-forane, and ecclesiastical judge, to which was added in 1836 the office of *comisario-prefecto*. Durán discharged these responsibilities during the most troublous period of California history until his death on June 3, 1846.

In 1833, as a result of Mexican prejudice, the Spanish missionaries of the College of San Fernando were removed from the northern California missions and sent to the southern missions, being replaced in the north by friars of Mexican birth and citizenship from the College of Zacatecas. Fr. Durán removed to the Santa Barbara Mission and made it the headquarters of the Fernandino friars.

On April 30, 1846, shortly before his death, Fr. Durán received his last ecclesiastical honor when the first Bishop of California, the Right Reverend Francisco García Diego y Moreno, appointed him Senior Vicar-General of the Diocese, with Fr. González Rubio as his associate.

Narciso Durán was well-equipped for his arduous duties as a frontier missionary and his role of protector of the California missions against the moods of the Mexican revolutionary movement. He was truly a man of parts, who could deal unhesitatingly with the task in hand. Among other accomplishments, he turned explorer of the wilderness, seeking new frontiers for his missions. In 1818 Fr. Durán led an exploratory expedition into the upper reaches of San Francisco Bay and established for the first time the fact that two, and only two, rivers (the Sacramento and the San Joaquin) empty into it. Durán's diary of the voyage and his original map explanatory of his discoveries are in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley.

One of the most noted achievements of this many-sided man was in the field of mission music. In 1813 Fr. Durán wrote a book on this subject, the original of which is in the Bancroft Library. In the prologue to his book, Fr. Durán discloses his masterful technique in teaching the abysmally ignorant Indians of his mission not only to sing but

to play civilized music. To this end he devised his own methods of writing music so it could be understood by the Indians, and he transposed the keys of the chants to enable the neophytes to perform them. Durán is the reputed composer of a number of mission hymns, notably the *Misa de Cataluña*, *Misa Viscaína*, a Requiem Mass, and perhaps certain other hymns such as *Padre Nuestro* and *Dios Te Salve María*.

In his struggle for justice under the law, Fr. Durán was equipped with an amazing understanding of the requirements of constitutional government. This insight he expressed in a single sentence so succinct that it cannot be improved by elaboration: "As I understand the fundamental requirements of a constitutional government, the basic principle seems certain that its laws should be the expression of the general will of the people who must obey them."

It is small wonder that with such a concept Fr. Durán was able to contend against the excesses of political chieftains bent on the ruthless and lawless secularization of the California missions. This was his greatest public effort and a contribution unsurpassed.

* * *

The Apostolic College of San Fernando, to which the letters are addressed, was a seminary for the training of the religious. It was founded on October 15, 1734. In exercising its functions it was independent of any province of the order and was directly subject to the Franciscan *Comandante-General* of the Indies, in Madrid.

San Fernando College furnished missionaries for both upper and lower California. They were called Fernandinos, to distinguish them from those of the College of Santa Cruz, known as Queretaranos, and those of Guadalupe, known as Zacatecanos or Guadalupinos. The government of the College consisted of a superior with the title of Guardian, four *discretos* or councilors elected by the community every three years, and a vicar, who presided and governed in the absence of the Father Guardian. The community was limited to 30 friars, of whom 26 were priests and 4 lay brothers.

The word "rúbrica" following a signature refers to the distinctive flourish added for identification. Spaniards adopt their individual *rúbricas* in childhood. Surprisingly, there has seldom, if ever, been found duplication of *rúbricas*. The abbreviation "Fr." is for friar or its Spanish equivalent, *fraile*. The word "vara" has been retained in Spanish form. The *vara* was the Mexican yard, for which it is difficult to give

an exact equivalent, but it may be approximated at 2.8 English feet. Also untranslated is *arroba*, a unit of weight of about 25 pounds.

The word "memoria" literally means "memorial," "memorandum," or "report." It was a term used in California to describe a list of supplies requisitioned and also the supplies received in response thereto. In these translations "list of supplies" or "supplies" has been used, as required by the context. The term was also applied to military provisions for the presidios as well as those for the missions. The ships which brought these supplies to California from Mexico were called "buques de memorias."

The translator has not hesitated to start a new paragraph more often than did Durán.

+

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions of California.¹

Mission San José

July 28, 1806

Very reverend Father Procurator:

Sir:

I inform Your Reverence that I am appointed minister of this Mission. It is not easy to describe the disorder and neglect in which it was when they delivered it to me; it appeared as if it had been sacked by a horde of pagans, such is the destruction it has suffered in several departments. It is our desire to repair as much as possible. Having, by chance, found the original list of supplies to be remitted for the ensuing year, we have arranged with Father Fortuni, my companion, to revise and reduce the articles requested by the former ministers in the manner shown in the enclosed document, leaving those not mentioned therein in their former status as shown on the list which is in the possession of Your Reverence.

We pray Your Reverence, to the extent that it is within your power, to confirm it on behalf of this unfortunate Mission, so that we may receive the pleasing news that for the first time it is not in arrears, etc. [sic].

May Your Reverence recognize me as your most affectionate brother and true servant, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

November 27, 1806

Dearly beloved Father and Sir:

The election of Your Reverence by the Venerable Council of the College as Procurator of these missions no doubt has been pleasing to all of the Fathers of this² California, according to the endorsements I have seen from nearly all of them. It was desired to have an individual who could fulfill this office with understanding and interest and with the desire to please everyone, and it is apparent that Your Reverence unites all of these qualities, which makes your election so satisfactory to us.

We, as newcomers, are not in a position to evaluate and select the most useful in the rough draft of the list of supplies whereby several variations have occurred in a short time: and therefore, we beg Your Reverence to add, omit, or correct as shall seem more appropriate to you, and in accordance with the assets of this Mission.

Should there come into your hands any alms for masses, etc., either through the Guardian³ or any other person, do not under value them and always report them to us. Above all, I will appreciate it if my pianoforte and the clavichord lessons of Bails are not forgotten, because I need them to occupy periods of sadness and idleness. If by chance there is the means therefor in our funds, I beg Your Reverence to find a confidential method for a subscription to journals and weeklies⁴ of Madrid.

We congratulate Your Reverence for deserving the confidence of all.

I remain with great affection the true servant and humble brother of Your Reverence, whose hand I kiss.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

January 31, 1807

My Venerated Father and Sir, Fr. José Viñals:

Here is the list of supplies for the coming year approved by both [of us].

We have gone without several things we need because of the poverty and indebtedness of the Mission, and we are content with what is indispensable, especially that which concerns the church, which is the most needy.

The matter of ornaments has almost reached a state of indecency, and therefore we beg that in supplying the Mission, this be the object of preference. Also we greatly need a *pozole*⁵ ladle and a dozen more *comales*⁶ for the Indians to make their *tortillas*. However, we believe these articles are scarce due to the war.⁷

Your Reverence knows that in complying he may always vary, add, or omit as may seem convenient, with the assurance that it will have our approval. Above all, do not fail to cooperate to the best of your ability to supply this unfortunate Mission.

We have agreed with Father Viader⁸ to subscribe to all the periodicals, especially the journals and weeklies of Madrid, and he has assured me that if the resources of San José do not suffice, those of Santa Clara will. May Your Reverence see that as many as possible are sent to us to occupy some melancholy periods.

We congratulate Your Reverence on the discharge of your heavy responsibility to the satisfaction of all as if each had been preferred, and we remain, praying to God to watch over both healths [the life here and the life hereafter] of Your Reverence, whose hands I kiss. Your most affectionate and humble brother.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

[Endorsed:] Answered on the 25th of May and that I will send a *pozole* ladle.⁹

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

February 27, 1807

Reverend Father Fr. José Viñals.

Very Venerated Father and Sir:

Herewith is the draft for 300 and some *pesos*. I think another will go from the Presidio of Monterey for 200 and more. Your Reverence will be pocketing this, meanwhile my principal intentions are to lay it up, if possible, for a high altar like that of Santa Clara.¹⁰ The two side altars, I believe, will be copied after those of Carmel. Will you be good enough

to advise us if you had notice or account of three or four hundred pesos which Señor Tamariz of Tepic should pay to this Mission, because rumors are current here of bankruptcy with nothing left.

I received Your Excellency's esteemed letter of the 29th of October in which you suggest that we deserve the special attentions of Your Reverence in cooperating for the redemption of this poor Mission.

We expect this from your goodness, and we pray God to guard Your Excellency many years, especially your most affectionate and humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

March 30, 1807

Very Venerated Father and Sir, Fr. José Viñals:

We are obliged to trouble Your Reverence to add to the list of supplies for the coming year, 1808, 4 *tompeates*¹¹ of spikes for planking, two small spigots to use with the barrels, one altar stone, and two bunches of ordinary rosaries. May Your Excellency forgive the annoyance.

We are on the alert here for what may happen.

Near the Port of San Francisco are anchored two Anglo-American war ships capable of dispatching 15 or 20 launches or rafts to catch our sea otters in this estuary.¹²

But it would be worse if they rob the supply ships, as is feared. We shall see when the fiesta is over; whether we are left poor and plucked; but it shall be as God wishes.

Regards to my Venerated Fathers Torrens,¹³ Pastors,¹⁴ Casals,¹⁵ etc. May Your Reverence command on all occasions your most affectionate brother, who attentively kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

May 21, 1807

Esteemed and Venerated Father Fr. José Viñals:

We have received the supplies and with them a clock which we

needed so much. Everything has arrived in good order, the works as well as the case, etc., except some little parts of the case [works?] which have been put back into place with great ease.

Father Viader has been the expert in putting it in order. We were quite confused by not understanding the use of the little pulley, and also because only one weight was sent, causing us to think that by some occult art it could serve both for the pendulum and the bell.

Finally, we have put both weights in place and have not made use of the pulley. The pendulum moves very well, and likewise the face indicates very accurately; but the hour hand, or wheel farthest from the outside in the part behind, is not well regulated, because instead of striking 3 it strikes 4, instead of 7 it strikes 8, and instead of 12 it strikes 13. The first two [defects] have been overcome by filing the little point which prevented the small piece of iron from falling into the bottom of the notch; but we fear the use of this expedient, and are waiting to see if it will become adjusted by itself.¹⁶

Your Reverence does not note on the packing more than six small cloths, and we received eight in the shipment. Up to now we have not found any other error, and if any is found we will report.

Receive the regards of My Father Ventura; and be pleased to give those of the two of us to our friends Torrens, Pastors, Casals, Auger,¹⁷ etc., etc. Command the affectionate one who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

January 16, 1808

Reverend Father Fr. José Viñals.

My Venerated Father and Sir:

Herewith the list of supplies for the ensuing year. It omits only what I am about to tell you, which seemed to me more appropriate to be set forth in a letter. This year, with God's favor, we will complete the new church and have thought of adorning it (to the extent of the limited ability of the Mission) with three canvas altars in the style of some of the missions below, which according to what the Father President¹⁸ has told us, make a perspective quite agreeable and pleasant.

The church is eleven *varas* in the clear, and therefore it must be at

least the same in height, from which Your Reverence can infer the width and height dimensions for the high altar, which should always terminate with a sharp or pyramidal point, from 8 *varas* upward, so that the awning will form an octagon. Your Reverence may give such dimensions as seem fitting for the other two side altars.

But we should note that the three altars should come with their respective two steps and the high altar with its tabernacle. Besides this, the high altar should have 2 niches; the first and principal one should contain the image of the Most Holy Virgin, which we have here and which is about a *vara* and half tall; and the second should contain the image of Our Lord Saint Joseph which we expect this year. We should also note that there should be a door to the sacristy on the epistle side.

As to the other two, they should come with their respective niches in which to place the two *santos*¹⁹ which we likewise expect.

They might likewise come with a proper number of candlesticks to be lighted for great feasts.

This is what has occurred to us to impart from our own ideas. As to the rest, Your Reverence may cut from or add to as may seem best, assured that it will have our approval.

We pray only that you may receive this with favor as with everything which may concern and benefit this poor Mission.

Remembrances from Father Ventura, and from both of us to our very beloved Fathers Pastors, Torrens, and Casals.

It will please me if Your Reverence be maintained in perfect health. Command as you wish, with confidence, your humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. The masses offered on behalf of that community [the College] to this date, January 29, including the four monthly ones, number forty-three. I will appreciate it if you will advise the Father Guardian of this.

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

February 25, 1808

My Venerated Father and Sir:

Herewith the duplicate of the list of supplies, to which have been

added only two pounds of cumin seed and one *arroba* of soap, as will be noted at the end of it.

I enclose the draft of the paymaster's office of San Francisco, and I believe that Lieutenant Estudillo²⁰ has already sent the draft of Monterey for 602 *pesoss*.

Although Your Reverence says in your circular²¹ that you will not send glass articles, we nevertheless request two cases of *Puebla* [glass-ware] because we are badly in need of them. If they break, they break.

Receive the remembrances of Fortun[i], and from me, the respect with which I kiss your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

To Reverend Father Procurator Fr. José Viñals.

+

San José May 30, 1808

Reverend Father Fr. José Viñals.

My Venerated Father and Sir:

We have just received the supplies, and we at once erected the altar table which pleases us well.

Oh, that Your Reverence could send us a carved side altar of commensurate size, and that we could give up canvases, which, according to what many say, cost a great deal and are of little usefulness. If Your Reverence is so disposed you may cut as you may deem fit.

We give thanks to the Reverend Father Guardian for the other benefactions.

In the enclosed paper you will see what we need additionally, and we pray it will to no extent be unfulfilled.

The masses offered to date for that community, without the four monthly ones, are fifty-two: that is, for the months of February, March, April, and May.

Remembrances to the friends, and may Your Reverence command with assurance your most affectionate [servant], who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

[Endorsed:] Answered on August 24.

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José November 27, 1808

Reverend Father Procurator Fr. José Viñals.

My Venerated Father and Sir:

We have just received the letter of Your Reverence of August 24 in which you advise us that the antependia etc. asked for are not coming, nor the ladles for the Indians.

The latter we regret extremely because we prefer the Indians even to what is necessary for the church. Therefore, one hundred ladles must be of first priority in the next list of supplies.

Your Reverence well says that it is not possible to provide everything because of lack of money; but from now on we are warned against asking for articles of carved wood because of their exorbitant cost.

The side altar, a canvas of the Judgment, [and] all the rest which appear in the entries which are increased [in price] due to the war, we will assume will not be sent us, unless Your Reverence shall find himself committed.

We intend henceforth to lighten your troubles by asking only for what is of prime necessity.

May all go happily with Your Reverence; command your most affectionate and humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. We are charged with offering two hundred and thirty masses of the three thousand which Your Reverence has directed by circular letter. In due time we will advise you of [our] compliance.

+

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. José Viñals.

San José April 28, 1809

My Venerated Father and Sir:

We just received the shipment of supplies and it is very much to our

liking. Your Reverence will not find strange our desires to advance this Mission (but not to approach the old and rich ones) because upon its transfer to us, it was a mere skeleton. What we wish is to celebrate the divine mysteries with some decency, and that the Indians may have articles of prime necessity or convenience, which we judge to be ladles, *comales*, etc.

The sacristy is decently equipped except for proper white ornaments, for which purpose we took from the Honorable Sindic at Tepic²² one of 170 *pesos*, which Father Uría²³ brought in his name. It is good, but dear, and only necessity could have made us take it.

I say this in case Your Excellency should come into possession of a suitable one, for which the Mission may have credit.

We do not wish a side altar now, because with the paintings, etc., the new church is "on one foot," modest but decent.

On the 23rd of this month the Father President blessed and dedicated it. Both functions were celebrated with the greatest solemnity.

All we need by the next shipment of supplies are four or six dozen sheep shears, because those we have are absolutely useless. So, if you find good ones, we will appreciate your sending them.

Please tell Father Casals I have not answered his last letter, because the hubbub of the holiday has occupied me for days. And ask Father Torrens to be good enough to make a little effort to inform us of events in Spain.

Receive, Your Reverence, the regards of Father Ventura, and the respect with which I your humble brother kiss the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. A draft is enclosed.

2nd. P.S. Father Ventura desires the attached addition to the list of supplies if the Mission has credit.

April 30

+

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions.²⁴

San José

August 30, 1810

Venerated Brother and Sir:

We have just received the supplies for which we give you the most devoted thanks.

I sent by ship to the Brother Sindic at Tepic the old silver oil vials. We have indicated to Your Charitableness our desire that they be converted to [invested in] a silver censer, or what may seem convenient.

There also is being sent the sum of 888 *pesos* under registered entry, which is all the cash there is in this Mission.

May Your Charitableness be good enough to fulfill the list of supplies as conveniently as you can. Above all, may they not lack the two vestments and white cope²⁵ which was asked of you by letter. We will remain most appreciative of the diligence of Your Charitableness.

We received your two last letters in which you inform us of having received the duplicate of the list of supplies.

Nothing more occurs to me. May all go well with you. Receive the regards of my Father companion. Command your humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. José Guilez. God guard him many years.

San Fernando, Mexico.

[Endorsed:] Received on the 4th of February of 1811, and answered on the 27th of same. Copy sent to Santa Clara.

+

Long Live Jesus!

San José

October 30, 1810

Esteemed Brother Fr. José Guilez:

Yesterday I received your letter of the 25th of July, replying to mine of the 27th of May. I am very joyful with the two proper white vestments which you suggest to me. About the cope, even though it costs more than was intimated, it does not matter. Indeed, it is not possible to fix a price.

It might be well to have the variety of colors which you describe, and perhaps better, as long as it may be used principally on the days when white is the prescribed color.

If you should have the time, I will appreciate it if you will send the publication which has just been announced in the magazines entitled, "The Plutarch of the French Revolution."

May all go happily with Your Charitableness. Receive the regards of my Father companion and command your most affectionate and humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. I suppose that Your Charitableness is now aware that the two chasubles must also be white; we are supplied with the other colors.

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. José Guilez. God guard him many years.

College of San Fernando, Mexico.

[Endorsed:] Received on August 26, 1811.

+

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator Fr. José Guilez.

San José

January 23, 1811

My Venerated Brother and Sir:

I enclose the list of supplies for the coming year with a statement of the items which should have the preference which I ask in shipment, if this can be done.

Your Charitableness will not find strange the preference given to some items for personal use or convenient for the table: to clarify, it is necessary to view this practically, and it will suffice to say that a mission is like an *hacienda* on the *Camino Real*: or better, like an inn in which everything must be provided.

This year *chinguito*²⁶ was not sent to us, and now we have to go begging for it and will later have to return it. Therefore, two [barrels] are requested, or are being requested, in the enclosed list. I do not know if it was asked for or not, but let that pass, there is no need to worry about the past.

I also request Your Charitableness that, in event you have not been able to obtain the silver censer (which I believe was requested by letter), or a choir cope, or any other item pertaining to the sacristy, it be noted in the present list and be given some preference.

In respect to the other items, Your Charitableness may make your adjustment, in lieu, according to the assets of the mission, providing

that there be no shortages, even if it is necessary to eliminate some of said items.

If iron or tools are very dear, and if there is hope for a more suitable price in another year, there is no inconvenience in waiting for a more favorable opportunity, as there is no great lack for this year.

Nothing more occurs to me than to wish that all may go happily with Your Charitableness and that you will command your humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. The magazines have not come for two posts, despite the fact that the subscription was paid for the entire year of 1810, as shown in the account for that year. We cannot imagine the reason.

We lack [the issues] from number 83 of July 31, exclusively. The Fathers of Santa Clara, I believe, have already given their dispositions, and have advised Your Charitableness thereof, and as to that in respect to this Mission, we are in conformity with said Fathers and Your Charitableness may do as they say.

Farewell

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. José Guilez. God guard him.

College of San Fernando.

[Endorsed:] Received May 30, 1811.

+

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator.

San José

September 30, 1811²⁷

My Esteemed Brother and Sir:

We have just received your appreciated letter of February 27 of this year, in which you describe the lamentable state of the realm and the handicaps which will ensue to the missions.

May it be as God wishes, as you say.

Since we learned of the insurrection²⁸ or the surrender of San Blas, we deemed as lost the 888 *pesos*, oil vials, and bell, the only items shipped for us. I have no document for this, because I gave the only one to Don Benito, the purser of the frigate, who sent it to Brother Zestafe, and I do not know if it came into his possession.

I do not know if this Mission in former years had any credit at Tepic, so we must rely entirely on the Providence of the Lord and the good faith of men, because there is not in our possession any document upon which to rest any claim.

We have just sold the produce of the present and the past years to the brigantine "El Mexicano," which anchored at Monterey on the 3rd of this month.

Her commander and master, Don José de Arce, trader of Guayaquil, should on arrival at Acapulco give you 1400 and some *pesos*. I shall forward the document for this, which he gave me.²⁹

Another copy of the list of supplies for 1812 is enclosed. It is in triplicate.

Nothing more occurs to me. May all go well, and command your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. After sealing this letter I thought of enclosing the draft. May God wish that everything shall arrive.

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. José Guilez. God guard him.

College of San Fernando.

Mexico.

[Endorsed:] The sum of 1400 and more *pesos* mentioned in this letter is [actually] 1489 *pesos* 3 *reales*, according to what Arce says. [and] Received on December 26, 1810 [sic], Answered on January 26, 1812.

+

Long Live Jesus!

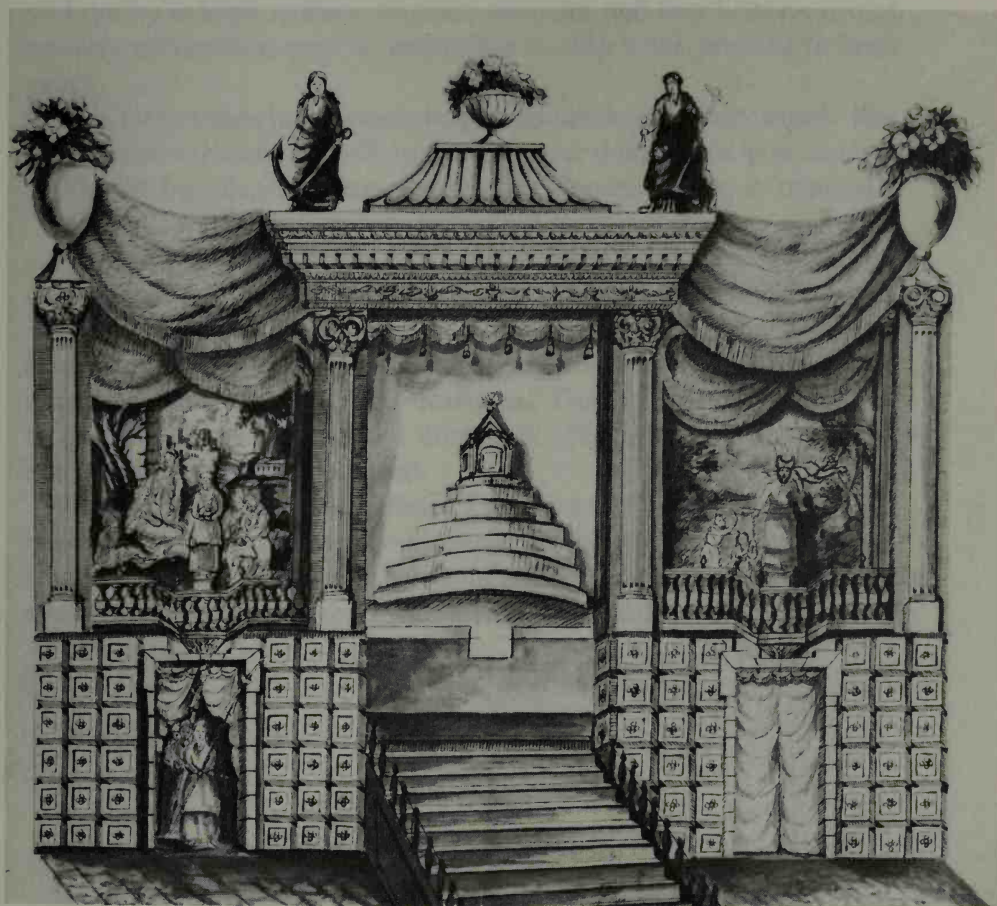
San José

November 30, 1811

Dearest Brother Fr. José Guilez:

To this date we have not received free and general correspondence from the realm, showing, who knows what may be happening there.

Notwithstanding the little [that is known] it is desired to chance [sending] this [list] and to ask Your Charitableness, if it can conveniently be done, to combine the two lists of supplies for 1811 and 1812 into one, especially the preferred items, assuming that together they



DRAWING OF AN ALTAR BY FATHER DURÁN
Original in the Bancroft Library, University of California,
through whose courtesy it is reproduced.

will not be as large as those of other missions, and that because of the scarcity of vessels it may be impossible to ship what pertains to both years.

This favor seems just to me in respect to missions in short supply like this one; and therefore I will appreciate your doing what you can.

The list for 1812 has been sent in three copies, that is, in triplicate.

Who knows if even one has arrived!

By God's goodness, may there always come each year two barrels of wine and two [of] brandy.

I assume you have received the sum of 1489-3 *reales* (one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine *pesos* and three *reales*) for produce shipped on the brigantine "El Mexicano," Don José de Arce, Captain. In proof of this is the enclosed document. The other copy is retained here until collection is recorded.

Please give me news of Fathers Torrens and Casals because I have heard that they have left the College. Nothing more occurs to me. Remembrances from my Father companion, and command your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. José Guilez. God guard him.

Mexico

College of San Fernando.

Loreto [Postal stamp]

3 [In red ink]

[Endorsed:] Answered November 24, 1812.

+

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator Fr. José Guilez.

San José

March 25, 1812

Very Esteemed Father and Brother:

With the hope that this will arrive, because of the favorable news brought us by the frigate "Flora,"³⁶ which arrived from San Blas for tallow, I enclose a notation of the items of greatest necessity for the ensuing year.

We are in great hopes for the next arrival of the supplies, which will make a great feast day for the whole country.

It is to be expected that many of the items requested will be lacking due to the difficulties which the realm is experiencing. I hope Your Charitableness may compensate for this in later shipments. This is sent under the belief that from three copies of the lists you may receive one. If not, there is no need to worry.

The matter of tools can be handled at your discretion. There is no great lack of them (except sheep shears), and therefore they can be handled according to a favorable opportunity which circumstances may present.

The items of wines, candles, brandies, oil, sugar, rice, and the like are now greatly needed and so should by all means be sent.

Finally, I hope this may be done with dispatch. God will reward you, and we shall be grateful.

I would also appreciate your sending material for calico petticoats, a red *rebozo* [shawl], one pair of cotton hose, and three *varas* of black woolen cloth of second quality which have been asked of me by the *mayordomo* who serves at this Mission,³¹ and which for the sake of propriety were not included in the memorandum. But any Father who has been in this country can assure you that at times it is necessary to yield to these people, and it would be well for you to inform yourself tactfully.

By the brigantine "El Mexicano," I sent the document by virtue of which its captain, Don José de Arce, is to deliver to you one thousand four hundred *pesos* and a draft for one hundred and ninety.

I will appreciate advice of their receipt. Please inform the Reverend Father Vicar that I received his letter of the 28th of August, 1811, in which he told me he had received my letters about the 233 masses offered on behalf of the Community in the year 1810, but that I have not received the other letter which he mentions. Tell him that those offered in the year 1811 numbered 155, besides the four monthly masses, and that they continue.

If I have time I shall write about it separately. Tell Fathers Casals and Torrens that I have written them several times and have not received a reply from them. It must be due to the circumstances of the time. Give us news of them and also of events at the College, for we are in a place of exile or remoteness from the world. If you have any interesting or unusual pamphlets, send them, because they will all help in this dismal world.

Nothing further occurs to me except to wish you good health and grace, and that receiving the regards of my Father companion, [you will] command your most affectionate humble brother in the Lord, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

[Annotated:] The sum he mentions from Arce is 1489 *pesos*, 3 *reales*, and 8 *cuartillos*, which is in the possession of the *Síndico* for collection. Of the 155 masses for the Community for 1811, referred to above, there have been noted by the Community, 105 in February of 1812 [reported] in another report from the Mission, and the remaining 50 were noted in December of 1812.

†

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator.

San José June 27, 1812

My Venerated Brother:

We received this month the invoice and accounts for the shipment of supplies for the year 1811. There is neither news nor hope now for its arrival. We are grateful for the punctuality with which it has been gathered, and it is to our liking.

If you do not have the Missal of the Order, omit it, for we are now supplied by another mission.

I enclose a duplicate of the list of supplies for 1813. The one for the year 1812 was in triplicate and I believe one copy arrived safely.

The *Síndico* Zestafe wrote me that he had in his possession the document for the 888 *pesos* and the silver oil vials shipped in the "Princesa." If nothing comes of this, entrust the matter to Saint Anthony.

There is news that the Fathers arrived at Loreto, and that they may now be en route here from San Diego.

Advise me if the thousand and more *pesos* have been received from Señor Arce, commander of the brigantine "El Mexicano," about which I wrote you by the return of the said ship.

Though the present copy sent is somewhat changed, there is no need to worry if the shipment has been prepared according to the first list, and please follow this suggestion with the ensuing one.

Six masses have been offered for the deceased father, mother and sister, *per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace* [may they rest in peace through the mercy of God].

If you receive alms for masses and the donors permit them to be celebrated at this Mission, we can celebrate 200 to 300 each year and we would be most grateful. We are expecting Arce's brigantine, "El Mexicano." Let us see what it will bring! The tallow from last year has been purchased at 12 *reales*.

Now we are not under contract to anyone and we will operate according to circumstances.

Nothing more occurs to me. Remembrances from my companion and command your most affectionate brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. José Guilez. God guard him.

Mexico

3 [Postal mark]

†

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Pedro Martinez.³²

My Dear Sir and Venerated Father:

We have just received your appreciated letter of last July in which you give us news of the Chapter, etc. Also, I received another from Fr. José Guilez in which he speaks of the sum of 1489 *pesos*, etc., which Don José de Arce, Captain of the brigantine "El Mexicano," was to deliver for the tallow taken from this Mission, but he does not tell me whether he has received the corresponding document signed by said Arce, which I sent by the same ship and on the same date, which causes me considerable concern because of the poor reputation which the said Captain has left in the country (according to what is said). In any event, I have the duplicate to be able to seek collection wherever he may be, which I believe is at Guayaquil.

I am at fault for all the concern and activity which this will perhaps entail. But I shall be forever warned of such men. Your Reverence may take such of these steps as to you seem convenient: either to write to

the *Síndico* at Tepic, in case he [Arce] has interests at San Blas, or to Don Pedro Pisa of Acapulco, a Brother of the College, or to one Don Simón de Adrian his agent (as is said) likewise of Acapulco. In any event, Your Reverence may proceed as may seem best.

I believe there was no other draft than the one of 1810; and therefore there is no cause for concern. I am informed that the *Síndico* at Tepic has recovered what was supposed lost in the frigate "Princesa," that is 888 *pesos*, some old silver oil vials, and a cracked bell, which were shipped together under registry in said ship.

Don Luis Argüello³³ has informed us of this in the name of Don Benito de la Vega, former purser of the ship, and I am surprised that the Brother *Síndico* has not written about it.

May Your Reverence inform himself about this and relieve us of concern and also that I may sing the Mass which I promised to Saint Anthony.

We turn now to the report of the masses. I believe Your Reverence said on another occasion that he had already received report of the number for the year 1810, which were 233. Those for the year '11 were 155 and for this year are 53, without including the monthly masses in these numbers.

It is learned that on the 12th of last October Father Quintana died in his bed at Santa Cruz.³⁴ A legal report was made in due form by an official and the surgeon, for which purpose they disinterred the body to make a dissection, and the result was that death had been violent, but natural from a little blood escaping from the heart. He died alone at the mission, as his companion, Father Marcelino Marquez,³⁵ was taking medical treatment at Monterey.

With Father Viader, I attended to everything. The resignation of Father Tapis (who is at Santa Cruz substituting as minister) surprised us greatly, but they understand. Nothing else new occurs to me. Remembrances from my Father Ventura, and to Fathers Torrens and Casals from both of us. I do not know if the latter is living, because it has been years since I have had news, in spite of the fact that I have written him many times.

May all go well, and command your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

San José

November 28, 1812

College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. Pedro Martinez. God guard the Apostolic Preacher.

Chiguagua [Postal Stamp]

3

[Endorsed:] Received on May 17, 1813. Answered on the 21st of said month.

+

*Long Live Jesus!*Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Santiago or Norberto Santiago.³⁶

San José

August 19, 1813

My Esteemd Father and Sir:

Don José Arce, merchant, resident of San Blas, owes this Mission 1489 *pesos* and 3 *reales* since the year '11 under an instrument, in duplicate, of the following tenor:

"As Captain and Master of the brigantine 'Nuestra Señora de la Merced,' alias 'El Mexicano,' anchored at this port, I admit having received produce belonging to the Mission of San José and delivered to me by the Reverend Father Fr. Narciso Durán, in the amount of one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine *pesos* and three *reales*. I am to place the same in Mexico to the order of the Reverend Father Procurator of these missions, which I shall carry out when I shall arrive at the Port of Acapulco, as soon as possible; for the performance of this I pledge my person, my ship, and the property I have, or may have.

To this end I have signed two [documents] of this tenor, so that performance of one shall leave the other without value or effect.

Monterey

September 26, 1811

José Arce

Rúbricado."

I sent one of the copies in the same ship, and realizing the poor credit of this man, I suspect that he did not deliver it, as Fr. José Guilez, who was then Procurator, has not mentioned it to me.

The other copy remains at this Mission in case the one sent should be maliciously subtracted. By the frigate "Tagle," which has just anchored at Monterey,³⁷ said Arce writes me from San Blas that which Your Reverence may see from the papers which I enclose, so that Your Reverence may do what in your view you may judge more convenient. But I would never have the desire to collect more than pertains to the missions, nor the rest of the 4500 *pesos* as he pretends, because this is more than is fair to Señor Arce.

For my part, I am writing to Brother Zestafe to collect from him at San Blas, and for this purpose I shall send him, with your permission, a proper copy of said document, which seems to me to be sufficient. But I doubt if Zestafe will now wish to serve this Mission, because I have manifested resentment of the silence he maintained about what was recovered from the frigate "Princesa," consisting of 888 *pesos* and old silver oil vials, which Don Benito told me had been delivered (Don Benito de la Vega, purser of the "Princesa"), and also because I returned to him the bill for a bell with some defects which he sent in the frigate "Aora."

I report all this to Your Reverence so that, being informed of that relating to this Mission, you may proceed in the matter with the desired success.

Father Oliva has just arrived safe and well in the frigate "Tagle," after being left ill at Acapulco, and is now a supernumerary at San Carlos.³⁸ His companions arrived in this Province about a year ago after suffering the greatest hardships.

Nothing more occurs to me. Please receive the remembrances of my companion, and command your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

+

Long Live Jesus!

Very Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Norberto de Santiago.

Mission of our Lord San José February 27, 1816

My Venerated Father and Sir:

We received the accounts by the last post, and oh, that we may

receive the goods, which appear to be abundant! On checking these items against the invoice I suggest that in this procurement there be left some items which have been gathered upon the assumption that they can be sent although they are little needed, excepting those for the Sacristy, which we wish to be given preference, the implements to come later.

Considering that this Mission has no assets so long as its *sínodos* and drafts are not collected, we are aware that we may ask little or nothing for the future. But we must at least beg Your Reverence, for God's sake, to send us many teasels or, much better, lots of wire from which we can make them. Very good ones are made here, and we obtain more credit thereby. We are in desperate straits, and if it were not for six that the Fathers of San Francisco loaned us, the Indians would go naked. I hope that Your Reverence, who will recognize the almost primary need for this item, will provide it efficiently.

Also, it appears that all the missions (at least this one) need *Yerba de Puebla*, because the coyotes and wolves are destroying the herds, and until this article comes, though they may not be reduced, surely they will not increase. Your Reverence knows the full importance of this need, and therefore we will greatly appreciate your doing everything possible to send this item.

After this, it would be well for some chocolate to come and a box of sugar. With this, it seems to me, we will be well supplied for the future, until the Lord shall dispose that this *Mitra* [miter—the Bishopric] may provide more.

I have here a draft for more than two thousand *pesos* for the treasurer at Guadalajara. I do not know if I should send it to Your Reverence or keep it until the next post.

Nothing more occurs to me. Remembrances from my Father companion, and command your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

To the Reverend Father Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago, Apostolic Preacher and Procurator of the Missions. God guard him.

Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico.

†

Long Live Jesus!

Very Reverend Father Procurator.

Mission San José

October 28, 1816

Very Reverend Father and Sir:

I received by the last post the letter from Your Reverence dated in June, in which you tell me that the drafts were sent off to Mexico City, etc. I do not know if this Governor will be willing to agree to this, because by his order they were sent to Guadalajara last year.

Finally, after six years of hearing woes and miseries, the Lord has wished to console this Province by the arrival of the brigantine "San Carlos" with supplies.³⁹ Because of the provision made for the presidios, I do not know if our needs will be met, for they say it does not bring the primary necessities such as cloth, petticoats, etc., of the greatest convenience to the missions, but which they may be able to provide, considering that the demand is less.

Right now the neophytes of this Mission are on the way to Monterey to bring the five cases mentioned in the invoice. I regret that the silver censer has not come, since it was already paid for because it is the principal jewel lacking in the Sacristy.

I believe that on a former occasion I told Your Reverence that everything which had come had been agreed upon and paid for, but the item which should have preference is wire to make teasels, because we are, in plain words, unable to dress the Indians for lack of them; which Your Reverence knows is as much as could be said. And this item should come not by pounds, but by quintals, as stated.

We also need wicks or, it may be, cotton fibers. Besides this, something might be spent from what is provided by the Bishopric for common and useful articles for the Fathers and the neophytes.

Nothing particularly new occurs here. Please receive the regards of my Father companion, and command this your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses Your Reverence's hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. The green-purple chasuble which is on that requisition is not needed at all. I would like very much to have it traded for a white one

to be used on ordinary feasts which demand that color even though it be of inferior quality.

[*Rúbrica*]

To the Very Reverend Father Fr. Norberto Santiago. God guard him. Apostolic Preacher and Procurator of the Missions.

In the Apostolic College of San Fernando of Mexico.

+

Very Reverend Father Procurator.

San José

November 20, 1816

My Venerated Father and Sir:

We have received the five cases of supplies brought by the brigantine "San Carlos" with great sorrow because they were considerably damaged, especially the pluvial cope which has three or four noticeable stains from sea water; to repair it, two *varas* of the same cloth and lining are indispensably necessary.

Therefore I beg Your Reverence for this if it can conveniently be [provided]. There were also missing eleven Viscayan axes and a pick axe, which does not surprise us because of the circumstances of the time, and because the cases arrived in bad order, which gives reason beyond doubt to suspect that they were broken into during the passage.

But, thanks to the Lord, something has been supplied as a result of the zeal of Your Reverence, which God will reward.

I believe I told Your Reverence on a former occasion that everything in the procurement, assuming that it is paid for, should come, though some things are not necessary, nor would we ask for them if they must be purchased. They will not eat bread even if they may come.

For the future it will be more difficult to reconcile necessity to economy, which must be limited by the lack of money and by the small credit of this Mission, and so I can only tell Your Reverence that at the present time there is little or nothing that the Mission needs, either in regard to the church or the fields etc., if it can only have at the proper times the common necessities of a little chocolate, sugar, and two habits and tunics a year, some pieces of woollen cloth, and I believe nothing more until the times become more settled.

I inform Your Reverence for your more proper direction relative to this Mission.

What should have preference is wire or teasels, and better, both together, but much, much, much, because the need is extreme, more than food. On this subject, I observe that if the teasels are sent made, they should come merely as little rods, without the wooden frame, because we will fix them here, and thus we will save freight and perhaps much capital also. This we hope from the zeal of Your Reverence, who may keep this for the instruction of your successors in case, for any reason, Your Reverence shall leave your office.

Nothing especially new occurs here. [There have been] some annoyances from Governor Solá to the missions and everybody, and it is not known when they will cease.

May all go happily with Your Reverence. Command this most affectionate humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. Some time ago I wrote asking to cancel the subscription to *La Gazeta* because it was so insipid that it was not worth the time spent in reading it, and that in its place, there should come the general newspapers, which seem to be more plausible.

[*Rúbrica*]

To the Very Reverend Father Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago.
God guard him.

Apostolic Preacher in the College of San Fernando in Mexico.

(*To be continued*)

NOTES

1. Undoubtedly Fr. José Viñals, who came to California in May, 1798, and served at Mission San Carlos from August of that year until 1804, when he retired to the College of San Fernando.

2. To distinguish upper from lower California.
3. The local superior of the convents of the Order of St. Francis. Fr. Durán probably refers to Fr. José Gasol, who at this time held the position of Guardian of the College.
4. "Gazetas y mercurios." Here and in the following letters it is difficult to determine whether the terms were meant to apply to publications in general or to signify the proper names of publications.
5. A mush which constituted the principal item of the neophytes' diet. It was made of boiled corn mixed with fresh or jerked meat, vegetables, and fruit, according to the contents of the larder. It is difficult to understand why Fr. Durán considered the lack of one pozole ladle important when he later orders them by the hundred lot.
6. Earthenware pans used for cooking.
7. One of the Napoleonic wars between France and England into which Spain was drawn because of a huge debt owed to Napoleon. While a European war could scarcely interfere with Mexican production, it undoubtedly caused a diversion of shipping, which restricted the supplying of California.
8. Fr. Viader served his entire California career of nearly forty years at Mission Santa Cruz. He was considered to be of more than usual stature in both temporal and spiritual affairs (Bancroft, *History of California*, III:726).
9. The endorsements and marginal notes on this and other letters are in the hand of Fr. José Guilez, even on those which were directed to Frs. Viñals or Santiago, despite the fact that Fr. Guilez was not at all of the time serving as procurator.
10. There is a drawing of an altar by Fr. Durán in the Bancroft Library; perhaps it was prepared in connection with this correspondence.
11. Obviously a unit of volume measurement, but the translator has not identified it.
12. British and American ships engaged in the fur trade were armed, and so justify the writer's use of "war ships." At least six Anglo-Saxon ships were in California waters in 1807: the *Racer*, the *Alert*, the *Derby*, the *Mercury*, the *O'Cain*, and the *Peacock*. The otter-hunting activities of the last four are described in this Quarterly, 12:222-23.
13. Fr. Juan Torrens was elected *discreto* of the College on July 12, 1806, and again on July 11, 1812, and August 8, 1818.
14. Probably Fr. Juan Pastors, who was master of novices in 1795.

15. Fr. Francisco Casals was elected *secretario* of the College during 1817. On August 8, 1818, he was elected *discreto*.

16. The passage on the clock was shown to Dr. W. Barclay Stephens, a member of the Society who is a prominent horologist. He comments: "Father Viader's hunch or thinking 'that by some occult art' a single weight and a pulley 'could serve both for the pendulum and the bell' had a sound background. In the 1750s Christian Huygens constructed a clock which was operated by a single weight and two pulleys, and later in the same century others used only the single weight and one pulley. Many clocks so powered were made until well into the 19th century. This type of clock was popular in northern Europe, especially in Holland and Friesland. They are to be seen in various clock collections. The great majority of them were hanging clocks, a form which was well suited for the missions in that they could be hung upon the wall out of harm's way, and could easily be seen. A most probable place for the clock would be in the dining hall, which also served for assemblies, etc.

"In addition to being able to apply weights to the clocks, Father Viader showed further mechanical ability by making a partial success in adjusting the hour or strike wheel, which is located on the back of the movement. The real trouble was that the wheel and the 'little point' or pawl which should drop into the slots on the wheel were not properly synchronised with the time portion of the clock. Unfortunately the situation would not be improved by further running of the clock.

"In the course of a recent fairly thorough search of much of the great body of literature about the California missions, it is surprising to find how infrequently any form of timepiece is mentioned, and also amazing in view of the frequent mention of the time of day. This search was supplemented by visits to many of the missions and interviews with both Franciscans and Jesuits, some of whom had done much research in the history of the missions.

"This clock at the Mission San José is the only instance found giving any description of the clock and thus giving some clue as to the form and kind of clocks which were used at the old missions, of which not a single example appears to have survived.

"The first sentence of this letter is of importance where it refers to 'a clock which we needed so much.' This is good evidence of the need for clocks at other missions, and of the fact that they had them."

17. Not identified by the translator.

18. Fr. Estevan Tapis, who succeeded Lasuén as *presidente* in 1803 and served as such until 1812. He served at San Luis Obispo from 1790 to 1793; at Santa

Barbara from 1793 to 1800; at San Carlos from 1807 to 1811; at La Purísima from 1811 to 1813; at Santa Inés from 1813 to 1814; and at San Juan Bautista from 1815 to 1825, the year of his death.

19. *Santos* is here used to mean images of saints. Since it is known that these were both paintings and carvings, it is preferable to interpret the word by the more general term "images." These were not the same as the *santos* of New Mexico.

20. José María Estudillo was a Spanish lieutenant of the Monterey company from 1806 until 1827, and captain of the San Diego company from 1827 until his death in 1830. He was the founder of the Estudillo family in California, and was considered a faithful officer, though of only average abilities (Bancroft, *History of California*, II:794).

21. Circular letters were usually special announcements or instructions for all of the missionaries. They often contained items of foreign and domestic news, and in the absence of newspapers were the sole means of circulating such information in California. Each letter was sent by rider from mission to mission and signed by each missionary pastor after he had read it. Sometimes comments on the contents of the letter were added.

22. After 1807, Eustaquio de la Cuesta. The *síndico*, usually a competent citizen of the community, was elected by the College and was in charge of distributing the *símodos*, or sinods, the stipend allowed the missionaries in America. He was also the treasurer of the alms of religious houses. Occasionally this citizen proved not as trustworthy as could be desired, and made off with the sinods.

23. Probably Fr. José Antonio Uria, who arrived at Monterey in 1799. He served at Mission San José from August of that year until July, 1806. He was at Santa Cruz in 1806 and 1807, and at San Fernando Mission until November 1808. He then returned to Mexico.

24. Fr. José Guilez succeeded Fr. Viñals as procurator in 1809, serving until 1812.

25. Certain church feast days required the use of white vestments rather than those of color in their celebrations.

26. Rum or common brandy.

27. Although placed 21st in the sequence at the Society's library, this letter clearly belongs at this point.

28. Hidalgo's revolution of 1810. This disturbance interrupted the flow of mission supplies, and want and suffering were prevalent among the missionaries,

neophytes, and soldiers in California (Engelhart, *Missions and Missionaries*, I:667-70).

29. It appears from Fr. Durán's letters that Captain Arce did not deliver the 1489 pesos 3 reales to Mexico as he contracted to do. It was many years before a penny of this money was seen there.

30. A ship from Lima, captained by Nicolas Noe, which came with a cargo of cloth and miscellaneous goods to trade for hides and tallow.

31. It is not known who was the *mayordomo* of Mission San José at the time of this letter. The duties of a *mayordomo* were to take care of everything related to the advancement of the property; to compel the Indians to work and to monitor their behavior; to submit monthly accounts to be audited by the missionaries; and to do many other things, all overseen by them.

32. Fr. Martinez was one of the first ministers of Mission San Juan Bautista, where he served until the end of 1800; he then served at San Miguel until August, 1804, when he retired to the College. His name appears on the registers as having officiated at nearly all the northern establishments on different occasions (Bancroft, *History of California*, II:149).

33. Military commandant at San Francisco. He served as acting Governor after Solá's departure in 1822, but retained command of San Francisco and did not move to Monterey (*ibid.*, III:11-12).

34. Fr. Andrés Quintana served as minister at Santa Cruz from November, 1805, until October 12, 1812. He was found dead in his bed on that morning and was buried by Frs. Viader and Durán, who happened to be visiting at Santa Cruz. It was supposed at the time that Fr. Quintana had died a natural death, but suspicions of violence later arose and a murder investigation took place. Several neophytes were arrested and tried for the crime, and received prison sentences from the Mexican government (*ibid.*, II:387-9).

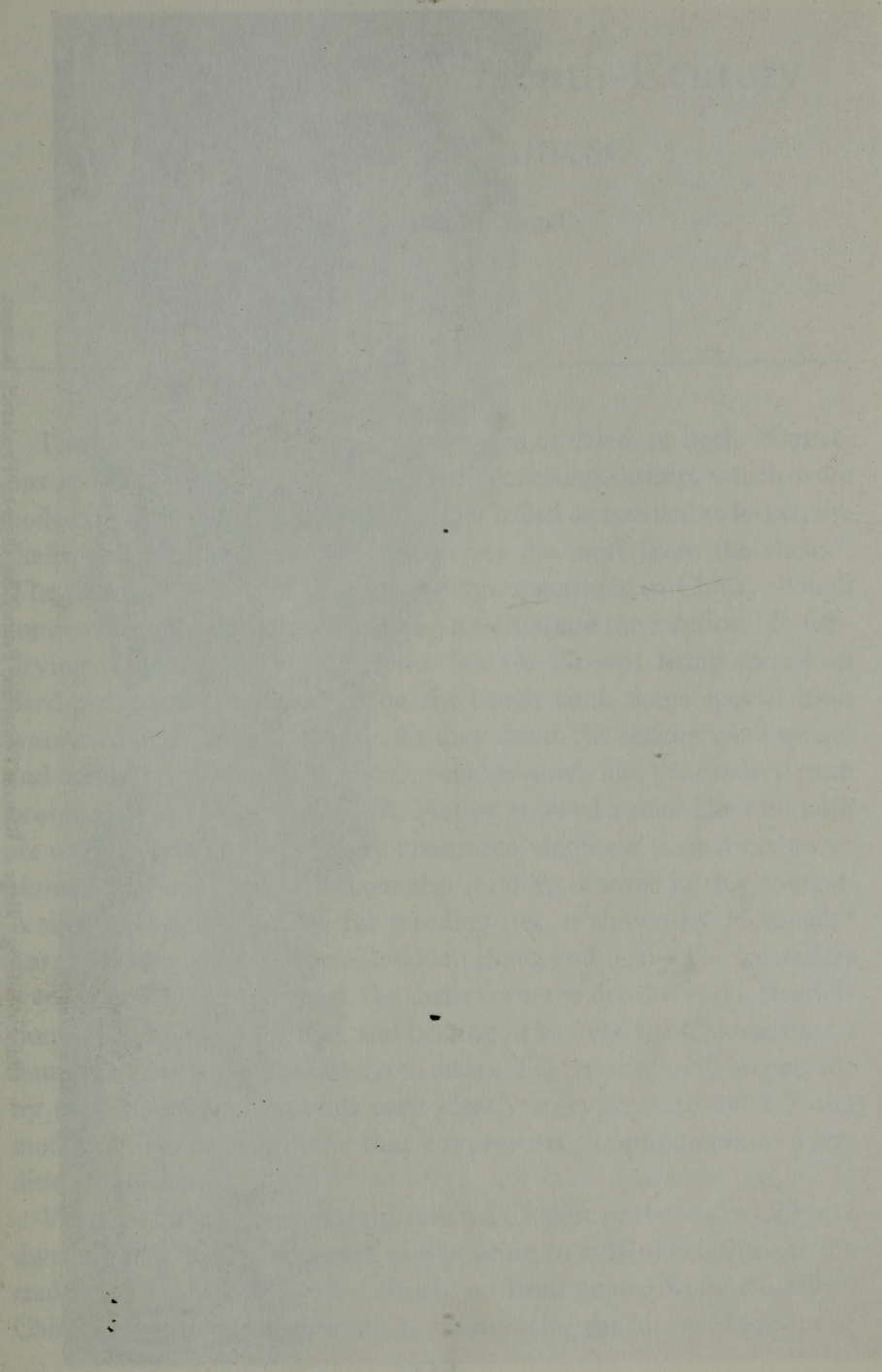
35. Fr. Marquez served at San Luis Obispo during 1810 and 1811, and went to Santa Cruz, where he served until 1817. There is evidence that he was living at the College in 1821 and he occasionally corresponded with Governor Solá on local conditions.

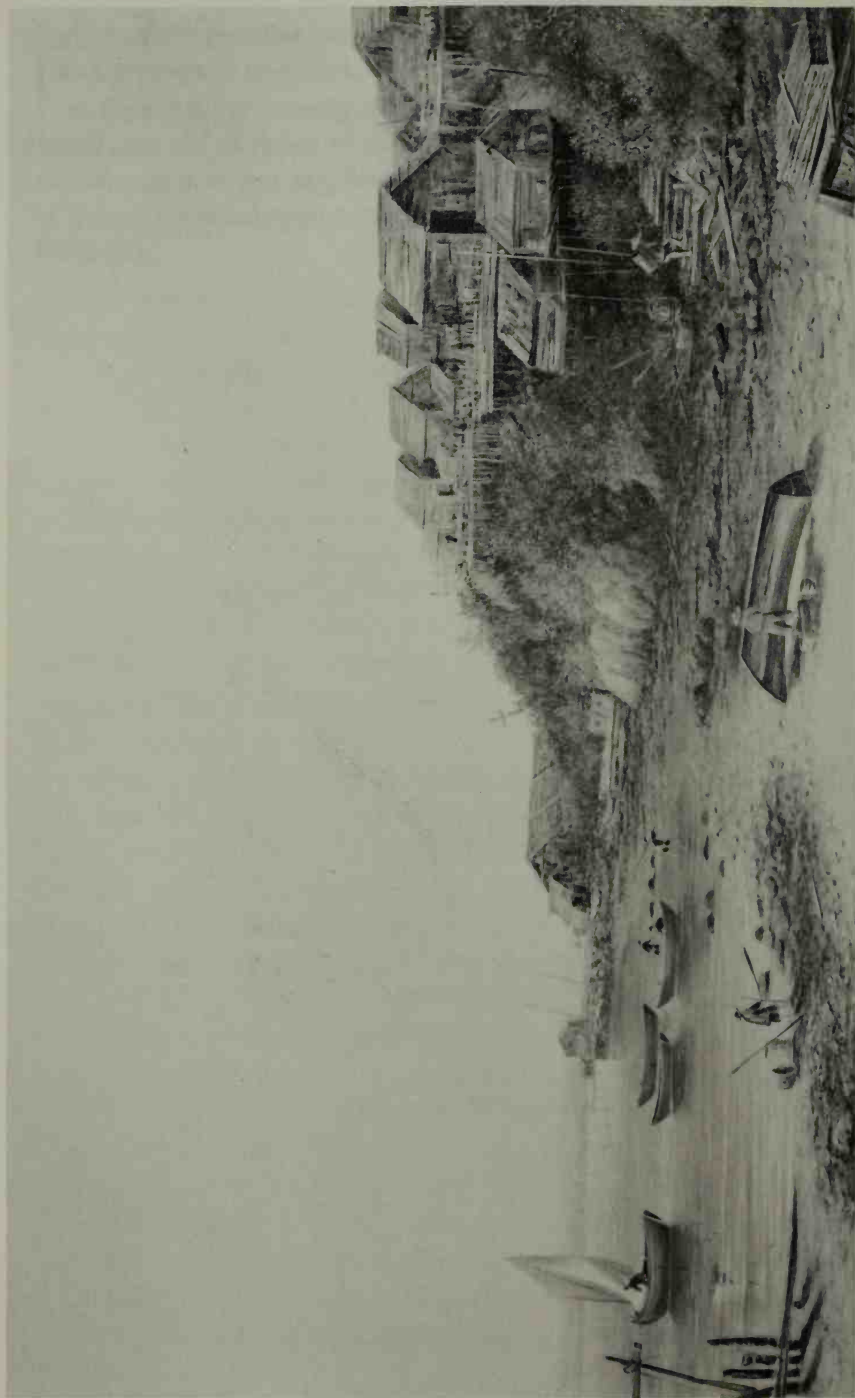
36. Fr. Norberto de Santiago came to Mexico from Spain in 1785 and was sent to California the following year. His signature appears in the books of San Francisco often during 1786 and 1787, but his only regular ministry was at San Juan Capistrano from 1789 to 1810 (Bancroft, *History of California*, II:110).

37. A ship from Lima which traded on the California coast in 1813 and 1814 (*ibid.*, II:202-3).

38. Fr. Oliva served at many missions, but chiefly at San Diego. He died at San Juan Capistrano in 1848 (*ibid.*, V:623).

39. One of the first supply ships, other than the Lima ships, to arrive in California after the inception of the Mexican revolt. However, the "San Carlos" carried a cargo of war supplies sent from San Blas by the *comandante-general* of Nueva Galicia in response to Solá's demands and by the viceroy's order (*ibid.*, II:211-12).





Chinese fishing village at Rincon Point, San Francisco, 1859, by Frederick Butman.
Painting in the Society's Collection.

Food Habits of Nineteenth-Century California Chinese

By ROBERT F. G. SPIER

(Concluded)

The bulk of the Chinese catch was salted or dried, or both. Numerous accounts tell of the techniques for processing shrimp, which were boiled in salt brine, dried in the sun, then rolled or crushed to loosen the shells, and finally winnowed to separate the meat from the shells.²³ The dried shrimp were shipped in large quantities to China, though some were sold to consumers in San Francisco and the interior. No fish-drying racks were in evidence, the fish (or shrimp) being spread on hard-packed earthen areas or on the beach sand. Some special tools were used in shrimp processing. As they dried, the shrimp were spread and turned with a hoe-like broom, perhaps much like the modern push broom. Walsh's illustrator, H. R. Hopps, showed a rake-like tool with six wooden teeth set in a heavy crosspiece, despite a textual comment about a "broom"; other authors also refer to brooms in this context. A similar six-toothed rake, for weeding rice, is shown by Hommel.²⁴ Large wooden pestles, special wooden shoes, and heavy cleated rollers were variously used to break the shells from the dried shrimp. In addition to hand picking, sifting, and beating in baskets, the Chinese used a fanning mill to separate shells from meats. This type of mill, homemade by the Chinese, corresponds very closely to types both ancient and modern.²⁵ There is no doubt that it represents a continuation of a traditional device.

We have no assurance that the isolated Chinese or those working and dwelling in small groups were in a position to avail themselves of the traditional foods which were clearly on hand among some American Chinese. However, in those situations involving the hiring of groups of

workers it is evident that Chinese-style food was eaten. On all major jobs the Chinese, who had to board themselves, in contrast to white labor, messed together. Although the cook might be paid by the employer, all other expenses of the mess were shared within the group. The foreman or timekeeper, who received the pay of the entire crew in a lump sum, deducted the living costs before paying off the men. The customary gang size on the Central Pacific Railroad, a single working and eating unit, was between twelve and thirty men.²⁶ Agricultural, drainage, and factory workers were grouped in units of about the same size or slightly larger. The labor contractor, in addition to furnishing the men for the job, commonly ran a store where food and sundries were stocked. Nordhoff's description of the situation on a Central Pacific Railroad construction job near Merced, about 1870, is one of the most lucid. He wrote, "They buy their supplies in a store kept in several cars near the end of the track; and this shop was a great curiosity to me. Here is a list of the food kept and sold there to the Chinese workmen: Dried oysters, dried cuttlefish, dried fish, sweet rice crackers, dried bamboo sprouts, salted cabbage, Chinese sugar (which tasted to me very much like sorghum sugar), four kinds of dried fruits, five kinds of dessicated vegetables, vermicelli, dried sea-weed, Chinese bacon cut up into salt cutlets, dried meat of the abelona shell, pea-nut oil, dried mushrooms, tea, and rice. They buy also pork of the butcher, and on holidays they eat poultry. . . . At this railroad store they sold also pipes, bowls, chop-sticks, large shallow cast-iron bowls for cooking rice, lamps, joss paper, Chinese writing-paper, pencils and India ink, Chinese shoes, and clothing imported ready-made from China. Also, scales . . ." ²⁷ In his autobiography, Henry Root, at one time a civil engineer for the Central Pacific Railroad, refers to a traveling companion, a Mr. Sisson, "who furnished Chinamen and their supplies." Root was en route to the end of track in Nevada, which would date his reminiscence as 1867 to 1869. His companion doubtless was A. W. Sisson of the firm of Sisson, Wallace and Company, which furnished Chinese labor to Charles Crocker and Company, later the Contract and Finance Company, the construction arm of the Central Pacific Railroad.²⁸ Lastly on this score, the case of Ah Louis (otherwise Wong On) of San Luis Obispo may be cited. He supplied Chinese labor for the construc-

tion of the Pacific Coast Railway (about 1872),²⁹ of the Santa Margarita grade section of the Southern Pacific Railroad coast line (about 1890), and to the quicksilver mines at Cambria. In so doing he probably established the Chinese colony at San Luis Obispo, by building housing for his laborers and a store; the latter still survives.³⁰ Only rarely, it would appear, did the wages of Chinese labor (apart from domestic or culinary workers) include their food. One such instance is mentioned by Jones, who states that the Chinese masons who erected the Parrott Building in San Francisco (1852) received daily wages of \$1.00, one-half pound of rice, and one-half pound of fish.³¹ Perhaps the practice of supplying food as a part of wages continued until the next decade. Conwell reproduces, in translation, a recruiting circular issued in 1862 by a labor broker in Hongkong, which stated that good houses and plenty of food are supplied to laborers in Oregon, but there is no statement that these are free in addition to wages.³²

That the Chinese could, at an early date, conjure up a very impressive banquet was testified by Bowles and Richardson. Both these journalists were in the touring party of Speaker Colfax, in 1865, and attended a banquet in his honor given at the Hang Heong restaurant by San Francisco's "Six Companies" (Chinese benevolent societies). Incidentally, it might be mentioned that the food served was not the only imported aspect of this affair; the restaurant building itself, of wood, two and one-half stories high, was allegedly also imported.³³

One receives the general impression, reading somewhat between the lines, that during the 1850's and '60's, the Chinese laborers ate a better diet than did whites in substantially the same lines of work. While no direct comparative data are at hand, the food of the early mining camps seems to have been plain fare at best. In probable contrast to this, there is some evidence, in the foods imported, that the Chinese had a greater choice of foods at hand. The comments of occasional observers tend to corroborate this. A white schooner captain, sailing out of San Diego for the Chinese abalone fishermen of Lower California, noted that most of their food was imported from China. Nordhoff, who spoke with the captain, added that, in his estimation, these Chinese lived "far better, and at any rate have a more varied bill of fare, than most of the ranchmen of California."³⁴ It is doubtful that these fishermen, as a class, ate

any better than other Chinese. Since the labor gangs ate at their own expense too, their diet was likely the same. Speaking of the railroad construction gang at Merced and the foods in their store, Nordhoff wrote "Compare this bill of fare with the beef, beans, bread-and-butter, and potatoes of the white laborers, and you will see that John has a much greater variety of food."³⁵

On the construction of the transcontinental railroad, most writers comment on the extensive use of tea, instead of water, by the Chinese. Their "water-carriers" hauled barrels of hot tea.³⁶ Whether intentionally or not, this practice had its repercussions in the laborers' health. Unlike the white (principally Irish) workmen, the Chinese did not suffer much from intestinal diseases such as dysentery. The Chinese also made much less use of spirituous beverages than did the whites, a point commonly cited in their favor as employees. Drunkenness of workmen, with the attendant disabling hangovers, seems to have been less of a problem on the Central Pacific than it was along the line of the Union Pacific.³⁷ Lastly, a contributing factor to better health may have been general camp sanitation; all accounts agree that the Chinese, whether miners, or railroad workers, kept clean personally and kept a clean camp.³⁸

Working, admittedly, from secondary sources and by indirection, one nevertheless arrives at the conclusion that a substantial part of Chinese culture was transferred to America along with the people themselves. In some respects this is the more surprising since the bulk of early immigration was by men only, unaccompanied by their families. Had they established normal households in their new setting one might have anticipated a considerable continuation of accustomed Chinese behaviors, but to find this in an essentially bachelor context is quite another matter. A single man is probably more capable of adapting himself to foreign modes of life than one who seeks to maintain the customary family setting. Yet we find that in all sorts of ways, simple and complex, the early Chinese immigrants did not make much change in crossing the Pacific. They imported goods and related techniques, and reproduced along traditional lines, but with local materials, many things not imported directly.

What factors may be adduced to account of this situation? One

factor cited by some authors of the period is the inherent conservatism of the Chinese. Conwell stated that pride prevents change of the habits of life, for to do so would incur ridicule. West expressed the opinion that the Americanization of the Chinese is only superficial, that they retain their essential habits and modes of thought. Many of the anti-Chinese tracts contained even stronger statements in this vein. On the other hand, the Reverend Augustus Ward Loomis, after some years of missionary experience in China, was on both sides of the argument. He referred to the use, by the Chinese in America, of implements and methods of great antiquity alongside all the latest improvements. Furthermore, he said, Chinese culture, abroad and at home, is changing with the introduction of new clothing, new trades, and new tools for old trades acquired by Chinese with foreign experience. He spoke of the Chinese being quick to adopt any tool which eases, improves, or quickens their task.³⁹ In the light of rather consistent testimony, mostly by pro-Chinese writers, that the Chinese learn quickly to do anything of value to them, one is loath to make a dogmatic statement that innate conservatism is the operative force. We have no reason to suppose that the Chinese were more conservative than other peoples of the same period, and have few ways to which to attempt a comparative demonstration if we were so minded. It may be noted, nonetheless, that in many of the activities discussed above no substantial advantage would have accrued to the Chinese had they adopted American ways. Doubtless it was easier to use accustomed techniques than to learn new ones.

A second factor, which doubtless played a part, was the social isolation of the Chinese in California. Normal social intercourse, as between persons of differing European extraction, does not seem to have included the Chinese. It is altogether probable that some longtime Chinese residents of America never spoke to a native American, nor entered his home or place of business. Chinese-Occidental contacts seem to have been limited to business relationships, mostly of the employee-employer type. The Chinese did not purchase much from white storekeepers and did not eat in white homes and restaurants. The opportunities of the Chinese, except for domestic servants, to learn much other than business or superficial aspects of American culture were quite limited. Due in part to the treatment received at American hands and to pressures

for residential segregation, the Chinese lived mostly in their own communities and had contacts mostly amongst themselves. Virtually every western town had its "Chinatown," large or small, which was essentially a self-contained separate entity, such as Chinese Camp (Tuolumne County, California). If this isolation from the general American society is a correct interpretation of the situation, then it would follow that changes took place mostly in those matters which suited the convenience of a white employer.

It is possible, also, that the Americanization of the Chinese may have been retarded by the presence in the population of other substantial foreign elements. The Gold Rush attracted men from all parts of both hemispheres and Chileans, Australians, Kanakas, Mexicans, and many others were present in California. Even some of those who reached California overland, ostensibly from the eastern states, were relatively recent European immigrants. From these elements were drawn a large proportion of the non-Chinese laborers with whom the Chinese might have had contacts. They certainly constituted no prime source for American culture.

Lastly, for all that the Chinese may have been isolated from the Americans around them, they were not cut off from China. In terms of the communications routes of the period, the Chinese of California must have been in as close contact with China as were the West Coast Americans were the eastern seaboard. Ship sailings to and from Hong-kong were direct and frequent, and each new arrival brought another load of emigrants neighbors and near-neighbors from Kwangtung Province. Compared with this the journey overland (especially prior to the completion of the railroad), across the Isthmus of Panama, or around Cape Horn was not an easy one, though some of these routes were shorter. California and China were so close, from this point of view, that for a time in the early '50's San Franciscans sent their laundry to Canton, and many common items of American usage were imported from China rather than from the eastern United States. These included such basic things as lumber, building stones, and furniture.⁴⁰ From the testimony of native Californians of the nineteenth century, it is evident that there was a substantial exchange between the two cultures, with the Chinese becoming more Americanized and the Americans becoming somewhat Sinified.

It may be seen, then, that the customary Chinese diet persisted among the Chinese of California and that they took direct steps to maintain it. Not only were food habits continued, so also were the associated behaviors. The traditional foods, the culinary wares, the implements of production, and the techniques of processing were all transplanted from China to California.

NOTES

23. e.g., Robert F. Walsh, "Chinese and the Fisheries," *California Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (Nov. 1893), p. 836; Rathbun, *op. cit.*, p. 808; Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 613; Calif. Comrs. Fisheries, 15th Rept., pp. 18-19.

24. *Op. cit.*, fig. 101.

25. Walsh, *op. cit.*; Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 612; Sung Ying-Hsing, *op. cit.*; Hommel, *op. cit.*, fig. 118.

26. George F. Seward, *Chinese Immigration, in Its Social and Economical Aspects* (New York, 1881), p. 141; William F. G. Shanks, "Chinese Skilled Labor," *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (Sept. 1871), p. 496; Charles Nordhoff, *Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands* (New York, 1874), pp. 143-4; John Debo Galloway, *The First Transcontinental Railroad: Central Pacific, Union Pacific* (New York, 1950), p. 144.

27. Nordhoff, *California*, p. 190.

28. Henry Root, *Personal History and Reminiscences with Personal Opinions on Contemporary Events, 1845-1921* (San Francisco, 1921), p. 12; U. S. Pacific Railway Commission. *Testimony*. U. S. Senate. 50th Cong., 1st Sess., Exec. Docs., Vols. 1-6 (Washington, 1887-1888), VI, 3314-15.

29. Port Harford (now Port San Luis) to Los Olivos.

30. Chester Newten Hess, "What California Means to Its Oldest Living Chinese," *Westways*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (March 1934), pp. 26-7, 40; personal interviews with his sons, Howard Louis and W. Young Louis, San Luis Obispo, August 14, 1956.

31. Idwal Jones, *Ark of Empire: San Francisco's Montgomery Block* (Garden City, N. Y., 1951), p. 57.

32. Russell H. Conwell, *Why and How. Why the Chinese Emigrate* (Boston, 1871), pp. 153-4.

33. Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, Mass., 1866), pp. 248-54; Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-40.

34. Nordhoff, *California*, pp. 245-6.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

36. J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West* (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 174; Galloway, *op cit.*, pp. 144-5.

37. Galloway, *op cit.*, p. 162.

38. Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains, and Mines . . . 1850, '51, 52 and '53* (Ogdensburgh, N. Y., 1855), p. 184; Nordhoff, *California*, p. 189.

39. Conwell, *op cit.*, p. 51; H. J. West, *The Chinese Invasion* (San Francisco, 1873), p. 37; A. W. Loomis, "The Old East in the New West," *Overland Monthly*, o.s. Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 360, 366, 364-365.

40. Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1947), p. 24; Soulé, *op cit.*, pp. 387, 415; Frost, *op cit.*, p. 100; O. Gibson, *The Chinese in America* (Cincinnati, 1877), p. 108; in 1854 alone the U. S. Custom House Records (Boxes 44-46) show importation of 2,775 pieces of dressed granite in ten shipments, probably aggregating 600 to 1,000 tons, and granite building stones were imported at least from 1852 to 1860. Furniture imports from 1850 to 1852 included secretaries, sectional writing desks, chest of drawers, bureaus, cabinets, wardrobes, tables, and chairs (U. S. Custom House Records, Boxes 2, 3, 19-21).

“Rejoice Ye Thieves and Harlots!”

The Vigilance editorials of the San Francisco journalist

JAMES KING OF WILLIAM

Selected and edited

By RICHARD H. DILLON

FOREWORD

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE that a martyr is far more dangerous an adversary than is a rebel. Perhaps Dostoyevsky put it best in *The Brothers Karamazov*—“Men reject their prophets and slay them, but they love their martyrs and honor those whom they have slain.”

In the one hundred and eighty years of our national existence we have seen many martyrs come and go in the world, men ranging from Gandhi, or our patriot Nathan Hale, to such frauds as Horst Wessel in Nazi Germany.

Somewhere in the middle range of martyrdom may be found the San Franciscan, James King of William, who one hundred years ago became a “pale martyr in his shirt of fire.” King of William’s motives were not as pure as those of Gandhi or Captain Hale, but he was a true martyr.

On January 28, 1822, James King of William began a brief life which ended atop a counter in San Francisco’s Pacific Express Building on May 20, 1856. This son of Aquarius was born in Georgetown, District of Columbia, and there the lad received his education. He tacked the suffix “of William” onto his name, not out of vanity but rather out of ambition, simply to make himself more easily identifiable among the baker’s dozen of rising young James Kings of Washington.

At the age of fifteen he migrated to Pittsburgh, earning his way in that city by clerking in a store. A year behind the counters was enough for James. He left Pennsylvania for Berrien and St. Joseph, Michigan, but ill health—the ubiquitous “fever and ague” of the time—forced him to return to Georgetown in 1838. There he became first a post office

clerk and from 1840 until 1848 was connected with Kendall's *Expositor*, a Democratic campaign sheet, and with the Washington *Daily Globe*. He also tried his hand at banking, with the house of Corcoran & Riggs in Washington, and in later life considered himself a banker, although journalism rather than money-lending ultimately was the profession for which fate chose him.

Correspondence with his brother Henry, a trusted captain in Colonel John C. Frémont's reconnaissance and saber-rattling expeditions, persuaded him to set out for the West Coast of America via Panama and Valparaiso on May 24, 1848. A San Franciscan, visiting in Washington at the time King of William was about to leave, asked Riggs what he thought of his adventurous young employee. The banker answered, "He is a very clever, steady sort of a man, but I don't believe he will ever set the Pacific on fire."

Riggs may have been a good banker but he made a poor prophet. Josiah Royce, who thought James King of William a "very plain and prosaic man," conceded to him the responsibility for setting off the "Business Man's Revolution" in San Francisco which culminated in "a regeneration of California society."

King of William's death set in motion the forces which, embodied as the Vigilance Committee of 1856, cleansed 'Frisco of sin for the third, if not the last, time. While the Embarcadero and Barbary Coast did not shine pure as the driven snow after 1856, the greater number of black-legs and hardcases who had flourished before King of William's death either laid low or fled the city with the fearful haste of shipwrecked rats.

Tragedy struck the King family twice in the mid-19th century. Seven and a half years before James was assassinated, Henry—leading a forlorn-hope party which sought aid for Frémont's trapped fourth expeditionary force—died in the mountains and was cannibalized by the men he had led. Not knowing of his brother's grisly death, James sailed to California with nine *Chileno* miners. Reaching Yerba Buena Cove on November 10, 1848, he pushed quickly inland to Hangtown, where six of his Chileans deserted him. At Hangtown he and the remaining *Chilenos* found plenty of color but he retired shortly from the gold-digging profession and took up the more comfortable gold-

lending game. King found that repeated immersions in the cold waters of the South Fork of the American River brought back the "fever and ague" of his youth. He joined the firm of Hensley, Reading and Company at Sutter's Fort and Hensley, Merrill and King in Sacramento. In July he headed East for capital and, returning, opened his own bank on Montgomery Street in San Francisco, between Clay and Merchant Streets. The date was December 5, 1849.

King of William's banking house was an immediate success but the trust he placed in an agent caused his financial downfall. The latter had used some large sums, given him for the purchase of gold dust, to purchase stock in the shaky Tuolumne Hydraulic Association. In an attempt to save the original sum, King was forced to sacrifice more of his wealth and his tidy little fortune eroded away to nothing as he paid off his creditors at one hundred cents on the dollar. Although he had lost his shirt he stubbornly refused to take advantage of the insolvency acts or retain the homestead allowed him by law. He started all over again, from scratch.

I. C. Woods, the managing partner of the banking and express house of Adams & Co., asked King of William to take charge of the banking department of the business for two years, as Managing Clerk. Woods offered to pay him a salary of \$1,000 per month and to have Adams & Co. take over his business assets and assume his liabilities. King accepted and started work in June 1854, continuing until the financial crash of 1855. Early in his stay with Adams & Co. he warned bank officials that the course they were following could only end in bankruptcy. Woods and the other ridiculed his fears. (It was I. C. Woods who said of him, "King is entirely too honest.")

Coming somewhat before the rest as a herald—like Cyrano's nose—was the collapse of Page, Bacon & Co. It was not long before Saunders & Brenham and, finally, Adams & Co. were also wrecked on the reefs of insolvency.

The twice-bankrupt King of William was embittered when he turned his back on the vaults to bend over the type fonts again. He had never lost his enthusiasm for journalism and had, indeed, helped John Nugent's *Herald* get established. After one more luckless try at banking, with Henry Reed, he borrowed a stake and, with C. O. Gerberding

as his publisher, issued the first number of his *Daily Evening Bulletin* on October 8, 1855.

The very first issue of the *Bulletin* made clear that to call James King of William a "militant reformer" was an understatement of mammoth proportions. As a member of the 1851 Committee of Vigilance he had helped clean up on the Sydney Ducks, acting as banker to the Committee and receiving a few votes for Vigilance Committee Chief of Police when Oscar Smith won that post. In November 1853 he had been foreman of the grand jury which returned an indictment against the City Treasurer, Hamilton Bowie, despite dire threats from hoodlums and abuse from certain factional newspapers. King came by his Vigilantism honestly and he brought it to the editorial columns of the *Daily Evening Bulletin*.

When the first copy of his paper hit the streets, San Francisco's fourth estate was in a sickly condition. There were a dozen papers, it is true, but all were feebly struggling to maintain life. King of William, realizing that his enemies might buy up interests in his paper (as they had in other papers) in order to shut him up, insisted upon absolute control over editorial matters and Gerberding gave him *carte blanche*.

San Francisco's newest editor refused to use the tired tricks of the trade. H. H. Bancroft claimed that it was because he did not know them. This theory is unfounded, for King had plenty of experience in newspaper work. The truth is that King of William was a born newspaperman and he possessed his own, more powerful, journalistic grab-bag of tricks. Within a few short months King of William revolutionized journalism in San Francisco.

He astounded his readers and rivals alike by naively expressing his inexperience, confessing to his mistakes and even apologizing for misstatements of fact. This straightforward sort of journalism came like a fresh breeze off the sea. He led opinion instead of following it. He made his letters-to-the-editor feature a public forum. When he turned his guns on rival presses it was as part of his crusade for morality and not simply the jealous backbiting of traditional interpress feuds.

It is hard to conceive of this twice-busted banker with a wife and six small children as a fanatic, yet he was. The darkly handsome King bore within his breast a hot coal of resentment against the financial

shell-game of the city. This hatred spread to a violent hostility towards public corruption and immorality in general. Personal spite grew into a crusading reformism. Josiah Royce wrote, "the field of San Francisco newspapers was crowded but still nobody [until King of William appeared] had made a business of preaching concrete righteousness in short and readable paragraphs, with broad-faced type for the headings, and with plenty of personal applications scattered all through the editorial columns."

His editorials carried with them the strong impression that the writer was a man to be trusted, a man of character with a love of justice. His readers, who became champions of his fight, *knew* him to be a man of unimpeachable integrity.

To one who sowed verbiage as heavily as did H. H. Bancroft, King of William's editorials seemed unstudied and homely. What they lacked in bombast, however, they more than made up in clarity and invective. No pussy-footer, King of William called a spade a spade. His editorials were straightforward, powerful, and frequently scurrilous. He wrote them in the heat of emotion and repented, if at all, once they had hit the newsstands.

King's editorials suggested not only his passing acquaintance with the Latin and Spanish languages but also revealed his inside knowledge of the financial finagling of West Coast Big Business. In vituperation he excelled such past masters of the art as John Randolph of Roanoke and disciples of the likes of Arthur McEwen of San Francisco. His success at name-calling was so clearly reflected in his soaring circulation figures that rival editors quickly aped his style. Invective became the hallmark of good journalism. Deploring the fact that his city had sunk back to the level of the heyday of the Hounds and Sydney Coves—"it is more a crime to steal a mule than to garrote a human being"—he attacked, single-handed at first, the criminal, the gambler (his particular *bête noire*), the politico, the corrupt municipal or state official, the weak judge, and the impotent press.

Aurora Esmeralda (Ella Sterling Cummins) described his paper as "the most aggressive and fearless journal ever printed in San Francisco," but King's enemies called it "a sheet whose every issue teemed with the vilest and most indiscriminate personal abuse." One of his enemies, Judge Ned McGowan, wrote of King's editorials:

"While they [sic] aimed at the correction of abuses which undoubtedly existed in the San Francisco community, it was thought by hundreds of our best citizens that the example of unbridled license set by this paper to the press was far more dangerous in its tendency than even the evils it sought to eradicate. . . . The boldness, arrogance and, not unfrequently, reckless mendacity which characterized this sheet, as might have been expected, awakened in due season a feeling of disgust, not unmingled with resentment, in the breasts of many of our citizens. Day after day this self-created censor fulminated his abuse indiscriminately on the innocent and the guilty, making shuttlecocks of the reputations of some of the best and most enterprising men in the state till, emboldened by impunity, his apparent zeal in the cause of reformation ran into the wildest fanaticism. . . ."

Josiah Royce agreed with McGowan, and those others who had felt King of William's stinging editorials, only in that King was a fanatic. Royce wrote, "His courage was of a quality touching desperation. . . . He acted like a man having nothing to lose [when] he determined to break up the iniquitous nest of political pimps and murderous demagogues which infested the place."

A blighted, crime-ridden city found a reformer in the ex-Vigilante. But San Francisco needed a martyr. James King of William was ideal for the role. Courageous and either unconscious or contemptuous of danger, he considered himself the conscience of San Francisco. The reformer and the martyr were but a heartbeat apart. The metamorphosis came on the afternoon of May 14, 1856, when an ex-Sing Sing con named James P. Casey sent a pistol ball into King of William's chest.

From the spatters of blood in the dust of Montgomery Street sprang the seeds of the Second Vigilance Committee and Royce's "Business Man's Revolution." It was the long series of Vigilance editorials penned by James King of William, however, which set the stage for martyrdom and which guided a public finally aroused by the slaying of their champion.

These editorials still have the breath and blood of life in them. A sampling of these blows at crime and corruption will suggest how a comatose city was roused to reform action. They will also show the pathway to martyrdom. Some are almost Biblical; others poetic. Most

of them are powerful and emotional pieces. Taken as a body, they constitute James King of William's greatest monument.

Between October 8, 1855, and May 14, 1856, he turned out a prodigious amount of copy—far too much to reproduce here in its entirety, for his diatribes against Palmer, Cook & Company would alone fill a volume. Also, while he was primarily an editorial Vigilante, he did devote columns to such general and commonplace topics as orphans, taxes, theaters, and unemployment. The writings selected for inclusion in this article are those most representative of his muck-raking crusade—a campaign which was to cost him his life.

SALUTATORY

October 8, 1855

THE APPARENT folly of starting a newspaper in this city where so many already exist, and at this time when so few are barely doing that, would seem to demand some explanation, as being more *appropos* [sic] than even the usual formal introductory of avowal of principles under which the editorial columns are proposed to be conducted.

Necessity, not choice, has driven us to this experiment. No one can be more fully sensible than ourselves of the folly of newspaper enterprise as an investment of money. But we invest no money of our own, (for we have none,) and only a few hundred dollars, generously advanced us by a few friends, is all that we have risked in the enterprise. If successful, we shall be able to feed, clothe and shelter our family in San Francisco, where the school facilities are such, as in justice to those who have claims upon us, we are unwilling to forego.

Whatever may be our political bias individually, as conductor of the EVENING BULLETIN we shall act independently of either of the political parties that now divide the State. By being independent of either party, however, we by no means intend a neutrality or indifference to public affairs but in all matters of public interest we shall advocate such measures as may seem to us best for the public good. Our best endeavors shall be put forth to present to the public a "readable" paper, for all classes. No pains will be spared to obtain correct reports of marine, commercial and legal affairs, and by means of up-country papers and correspondents we expect to furnish our readers

with such items of mining and other interests from that section of the State as may prove generally interesting. Correspondents in Monterey, Los Angeles, and other southern points, will keep us posted with such items of news from the vine-clad and grazing portion of the State as may be passing. By return and succeeding mails, we hope to lay before our readers such correspondence from the Atlantic cities and Europe as will be read with much interest.

We ask our personal friends and the public for a share of their patronage. Our rates for advertising are so low, that none wishing to encourage us can object. Our terms are cash. We cannot afford ourselves to go in debt, and of course must make our collections promptly.

* * * *

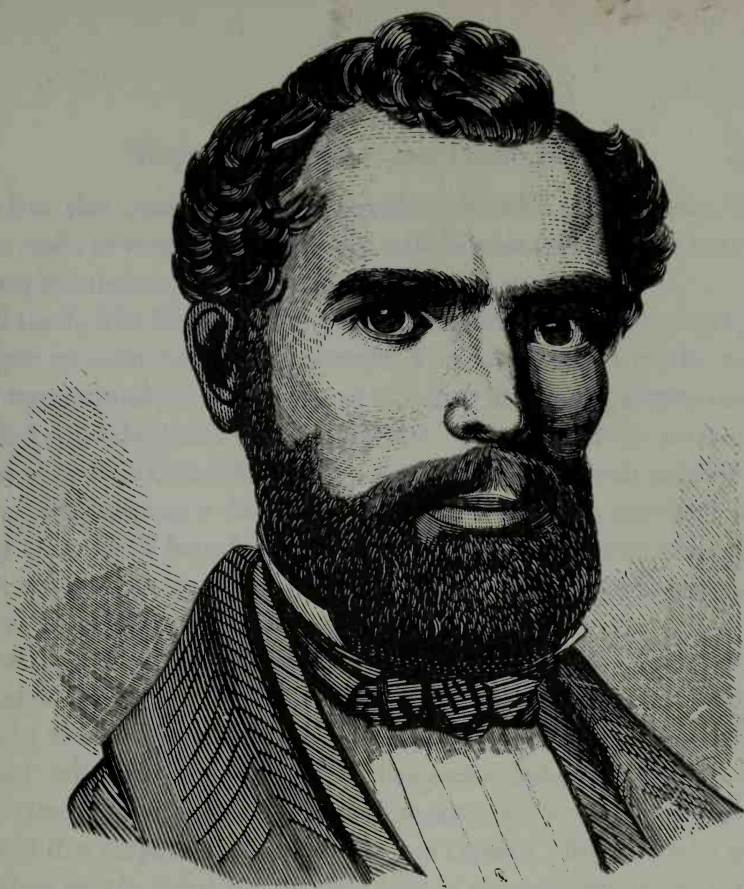
Not a few of our friends in giving us their good wishes for our success, have expressed their sympathy for us in our adverse circumstances, and also their regret that we had found nothing better than editing a newspaper wherewith to commence the world again. That's the right feeling, and we are thankful for it. Now send in your "material aid," gentlemen, in the shape of advertisements, and we will thank you again.

DAVID CATILINE BRODERICK

October 16, 1855

If it were only the amount of money this ungodly man has cost the people of this State, in his almost superhuman efforts to have himself elected her Senator at Washington, that sin alone would be sufficient to banish him forever from her borders as unworthy to hold the privileges and immunities of an American citizen. Who can tell the amount of money it has cost the tax paying citizens of California for the *per diem* of the Legislature, whilst acting under the influence brought to bear by Mr. Broderick, not for the good of the people, but to serve his own selfish ends?

David Catiline Broderick representing the State of California in the United States Senate! Shades of Webster, and of Clay, and of Wright, and of a score of others, whose names are written in the history of our country, and whose deeds are inscribed on its brightest pages, what would be your emotions at the contemplation of such a catastrophe! Day after day, week after week, month after month, and session after



JAMES KING OF WILLIAM—The Patriot Martyr of California.

Editor of the SAN FRANCISCO EVENING BULLETIN, who was murderously assassinated by JAMES P. CASEY, May 14th, 1856.



PORTRAIT OF MR. KING AFTER DEATH,
SHOWING THE ENTRANCE AND EXIT OF THE FATAL BALL.

From the Society's collection.

session, has this consummate wire-puller touched every chord that could be made to vibrate to his unholy skill. No means were left untried to accomplish the ends he had in view.

Stand forth, Mr. Broderick, at the bar of public opinion, and give to the people an account of your actions. You have been a public man, sir, and represented(?) the people of this city in the Legislative councils. What good did you ever accomplish? When one of the most corrupt and shameless Councils this city ever was cursed with saddled on her tax-ridden citizens a debt of over \$200,000, for the purchase of a building that could have been bought for \$83,000, where were you then? Were you on the side of the people? No, sir; no! When were you known to be on the side of the people?

At the time of the Jenny Lind swindle, the property holders called a meeting on the plaza to discuss the propriety of the acts of the Council; and whilst the people were thus lawfully, and legally, and peaceably assembled, who was it that, with bullies and shoulder-strikers, broke in on the assemblage, pushed aside the speakers on the stand, and spoke in favor of that stupendous swindle? It was *David C. Broderick!* Thou, David, thou art the man! But on the night of the meeting, if our memory serves us correctly, you said the owner of the building was a friend of yours and a gentleman. Your friend and a gentleman? One would think an aspirant after Senatorial honors might have gone elsewhere than among gamblers for a friend and a gentleman! *Your* friend? And suppose he *was* your friend, was that any reason the honest tax payers of the city should be saddled with an additional \$200,000 to be levied on their property?

Was it not enough, sir, that the great conflagrations that had swept over this city, again and again, burying in one common ruin the valuable property alike of the gambler and the merchant, the thief and the honest man, the good and the bad, that they must also help to line the pockets of your friends? Did any of the proceeds of that sale to the city go into your pockets, Mr. Broderick, and if so, how much? If you were to pack up and start in the next steamer for Panama and Tammany Hall, we might almost forget the \$300,000 you have cost the State in endeavoring to legislate yourself her Senator. But who can forget or forgive, the crime and immorality you have been the means of spread-

ing over this city, in corrupting the elections, and rendering powerless the voice of the people at the polls?

It has been our lot, Mr. Broderick, to see and become acquainted with some very bad men in this State, but among the misfortunates that have befallen us, we do not remember to have ever been in your company. The pleasure of your acquaintance is yet in store for us. We have thought, sometimes, we would like to know you—to be in your company and listen to the words of wisdom and cunning of Tammany Hall as they dropped from your lips. Your friends have spoken to us within the last few days of the losses you have sustained, and have urged upon us to forbear. They have told us that you and Palmer, Cook & Co. were no longer friends, and that you had lost all your money. Ah! David, you were not quite sharp enough for that Oily Gammon firm. Old Tammany had to strike her flag to Uriah Heap. You thought in using their money you were using them, but they made use of you. What were two or three hundred thousand dollars to them so that they could carry their measures? They took you to fight Mr. Gwin, and when they had taught Mr. Gwin he could not get along without them, they made up with him and threw you aside to be used again when needed.

But how did you lose your money, David? Was it in regular business transactions—the fluctuations in the price of merchandise, or in any honest occupation? Was it in stock-jobbing? Did the Board of Examiners reject your scrip? What kind of scrip did you have, Mr. Broderick? Was it Street Assessment Fund, or part of the old Jenny Lind Fund, not redeemed? Was it Meiggs scrip, or Adams & Co.'s certificates, or Wright's, or Robinson's? In none of these had you a dollar. How then did you lose your money, that you thus appeal for sympathy? Sixty thousand dollars, we heard some time ago, you borrowed of one man. Two hundred thousand dollars we have heard put down as an estimate of your former fortune. And all this gone? Nothing left? Even your powerful friends have left you! Alas! David, but the way of the transgressor *is* hard!

We regret we cannot spare you more of our space or time to-day. We have yet a long account to settle with you, and it shall have our earliest attention.

DAVID CATILINE BRODERICK

October 17, 1855

We do not know positively, whether, in filling up the middle name of this famous politician, we have succeeded in giving his real cognomen or not, but that he ought to be so named is perfectly clear to our mind. Of all that class of wire-working politicians that infest our State, this man is decidedly the worst. Master of all the minutiae of those unscrupulous politicians of the New York school, he holds the reins with a firm hand and with unflinching resolution. Were he acting in a better cause, and against the enemies of the people, how we should admire the skill with which he directs his forces; now withholding, now urging them on, with consummate tact and ability, in the contest! Mr. Broderick is not only a skillful, but a *prudent* general. Knowing well the value and importance of his own position he seldom exposes himself, but invariably works through others. And here is where he has done the most injury. The man employed by him to-day, will not necessarily be paid from the same purse to-morrow. But some rival candidate, not quite so unscrupulous, perhaps, as Mr. Broderick, but knowing with whom and with what he has to contend, resorts to the same system of tools, employs rival bullies, rival shoulder-strikers, and rival ballot-box stuffers, to frighten peaceable men from the polls, and nullify the will of the people.

It is true Mr. Broderick is not not directly chargeable with all the acts of violence and blood-shed at the polls; many of them he does not see or hear of until accomplished. But *his* mind is the Pandora's box from whence spring all these evils. *His* is the fertile genius that creates means for every emergency. How fruitful in resources! How prompt in their application! In this department of political science Mr. Broderick was born to command! Endowed naturally with energy, acquainted with human nature, and knowing the frailties of those he employs, he selects his instruments with care and discrimination, and with an eye to their qualifications for the different kinds of work he has marked out for them, and with untiring zeal drills them severely and fashions them for his purpose.

If, on account of the example he has set as a politician, there is one man in this community more blameable than another, or than all others combined, that man is David C. Broderick.

What disgraceful scenes have we seen enacted at the primary elections! The people, slow to be convinced, and not aware of the importance of this apparently insignificant matter, pay but little attention to the primary elections. Mr. Broderick, wideawake, lays all his plans, and pours in his forces at the polls. The primary election, a regulation of the party, is unknown to the laws and there is no penalty to be feared for illegal voting. Shoulder-strikers appear again and again at this precinct and that, and who questions their right? It is *only* a primary election, and orderly citizens, to avoid the contact, hold their peace. The result is, the *party* is not faithfully represented, but by downright fraud, the Broderick men are counted in, and the battle half won before the main election comes off. Well, the convention meets. And now comes the tug of war! Who will pay the most for the nominations? If elected, what percentage of the emoluments of his office will satisfy the successful candidate? The higher the office the greater must be the bid. As high as five thousand dollars is known to have been offered in this city for an office, the *legitimate* revenue of which was only about six thousand dollars! How can the candidate afford this if he does not expect to speculate after in office! And yet the men elected to these conventions have the assurance and effrontery to come out of the sessions and *offer* their votes and influence for so much money!

All these things, Mr. Broderick, the public charge home upon you as the legitimate fruits of your unprincipled system of electioneering. And by such means you expect eventually to be elected to the United States Senate at Washington! In that last great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open, how dark will be the page on which your political life is written! And can nothing win you from the allurements of such a life? Will not the loss of your own fortune, the heavy debt you have aided to entail on this city and State, the frauds perpetrated at the elections by stuffing the ballot boxes, by illegal voting, by substituting shoulder-strikers and bullies for the judges elected by the people, by destroying the ballot-boxes and scattering the tickets—will not all this satisfy you? Will you not take warning from the honest indignation of the people, now pushed to the uttermost bounds of forbearance, and whose wrath is even now gathering, and can be heard afar off like the rumblings of distant thunder? "*Quosque tandem abutere, Catilini,*

patientia nostra?" To what extremities, sir, are you to abuse the patience of this community? How long do you expect to escape their virtuous indignation? What shall terminate your bold audacity? Does not the hearty disapproval of your course by ever honest man in the community convey to you some lesson of importance? What mad infatuation has taken possession of you?

Mr. Broderick, we have spoken some plain words to you through the columns of the *Bulletin*. Not having any personal acquaintance with you, individually, we have taken this method of addressing you as a politician. The eagerness with which from the purlieus of Merchant street, and in sight of our office, you have watched the issues of the *Bulletin*, indicates the interest you feel in our progress and success. We shall from time to time pay our respects to you through the same medium, and will endeavor to do so with the same hearty good will we have already manifested.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CITY PRESS

October 31, 1855

And first the *Chronicle*. It is a painful duty to condemn the conduct of those whose general character and course in life we respect and admire. But with a truly independent press, every action of a public officer, or of a journal, or even the noted acts of private individuals, so far as the latter may be supposed to carry with them an influence on the public mind and the formation of public sentiment, *all* we conceive, are subjects of legitimate criticism. Nor should the fear of enemies, nor the loss of friends, nor the withdrawal of advertisements, the life blood of the press, cause an editor for one moment to swerve from what he knows to be his duty. It has been uttered here, repeated in Sacramento, and the returning echo from the Northern and Southern mines brings back the stale news that the Editor of the *Bulletin* is (what everybody knew before,) without experience in editing a newspaper. Well, if by "experience" we are to understand that our course must be shaped by that of the San Francisco press, we prefer to remain in our present ignorance. We have selected you, Mr. *Chronicle*, as the basis of our remarks on this occasion, because, in our opinion, yours has been decidedly the best paper in the city. We paid you the highest compli-

ment we could when we compared you to the *National Intelligencer*, and your editor-in-chief to honest old Joe Gales. But the *Intelligencer* was not always right, and Mr. Gales had his faults as well as other men. You, too, Mr. *Chronicle*, are not entirely blameless. And now let us look at the less sinful portion of the city press. And what good has it done?

Who has forgotten the pithless effusions of the newspapers of this city during the years 1849 and '50? What miserable apologies they had for leaders! What paragraphs (we had almost said columns) devoted to the ecstasies produced by a dinner furnished *gratis* by some aspiring restaurateur, who expected his pay in newspaper puffs. Was there a new town to be started—the editor of some newspaper must be furnished with a few lots gratis, and straightway a new Boston or a New York of the Pacific sprung up suddenly into existence. The new site was always sure to be “just the place,” “at the head of navigation,” or “right on the bay, with deep water and good anchorage.” Money was plenty at that time in San Francisco, and as the honest mechanic or hardy miner passed the auctioneer’s and saw the handsome map, with its wharves, and streets, and plazas, and city hall, and benevolent asylums, all most appropriately set off in faultless squares and parallelograms, and heard the choice lots knocked down to the “Peter Funks” at two, three, four and five hundred dollars each, he thought he might try his luck too; and out came his little bag, and down came the dust to the tune of two or three hundred dollars, in some *permanent* investment. What has become of those magnificent cities? Where is Webber, and Fremont, and Eliza and Nicolaus, and New York of the Pacific, and all the other embryo Babylons?

And the news from the Mines. How little care was taken to give correct information to the newly arrived immigrant just landed on our shores and seeking for the “best diggings!” Did some jobber find himself overstocked with goods—all he had to do was to ship a cargo to some Gold Bluff, and by return advices have his newspaper arrangements all fixed, and the next morning the whole city was electrified with the astounding news that an *ocean* of gold could be had for the expense and trouble of gathering it. The little craft was again freighted, and this time with live lumber as well as stocks of goods; and as she left her moorings, the anxious throng in anticipation revelled in the newly found treasures that awaited them.

Next come the several avocations pertaining to the denizens of the city. Without referring to the rise and progress of the different commission houses that have risen to prominence of position, either by the strength of their own real worth, or by the puffing then in practice, and obtainable by advertising freely and extra payments, let us look at the banking houses alone. And here we must begin to discriminate. Some of the newspapers of this city never would puff either Robinson or Wright, but what journal aided not to build up Adams & Co.? This last named firm had reduced newspaper humbugging to a perfect science! Nor did they confine themselves to San Francisco alone, but wherever they could bring influence to bear they made use of the press for their purposes. At one time, their shipments of gold dust nearly equalled those of Page, Bacon & Co. Adams & Co., did not start as bankers. They were express men, but were absolutely *forced* into the business by newspaper puffing. They shipped a large amount of dust, and therefore they must be wealthy! For years we had no confidence in the house, but finally yielding to the popular belief we began to think them wealthy, and came to the conclusion that the entire banking business of the city must eventually fall into the hands of Page, Bacon & Co., and Adams & Co. And it had nearly done so when the great crash came. But what has the *Chronicle* to do with all these things, some of which occurred before that journal came into existence? We answer, with some of them, and as the *Chronicle* alone, *it has nothing whatever to do*. But we have selected that journal as being less to blame, (and for that reason the best of the comparatively "innocuous" portion of the press,) and therefore not the fairest sample, but the best selection that could be made from the fraternity.

But you, Mr. *Chronicle*, are not without blame since the commencement of your career. As "watchman on the tower" have you not slumbered whilst the enemy were at your very gates? As guardian of the liberties of the people, have you done your best to preserve those liberties at the ballot box? When the San Francisco *Herald*, which was established for the express purpose of correcting some of those evils, fell from its first love and allowed its columns to be used for the advancement of bad men to office to the exclusion of trusty citizens, why did you not faithfully expose it? You cannot plead want of ability. Good

Heavens, how you made the welkin ring after the departure of a well known forger! That was a "high old" leader you wrote on his departure. How the white kids and the front seats at the opera suffered under the scathing of your able pen! But it was too late. You locked the door after the horse had gone. The eloquence you penned met not the eye it should, and only served to wound the feelings of the amiable and innocent family he left behind him. Their's was not the crime, nor at them should have been hurled your anathemas. Had you *before hand* followed less in the wake of your "experienced" brethren, and instead of exposing vice and immorality in *general terms*, made a point to hold up by *name* to public scorn the *respectable* scoundrels that infested our city, the forger we speak of might have been deterred from his crime. But you did not then, *and you do not now*. Just opposite your office, and almost under your nose, Mr. A. A. Selover is the ostensible actor in a grand swindle practiced by the authorities of this State on the citizens of San Francisco, and your *lips are sealed*! Why? because forsooth, Mr. Selover can afford to sport his carriage and horse, and is a friend of Palmer, Cook & Co.? It does appear to us sometimes, that from about Sansome street to Dupont, honest men are almost afraid to speak of Palmer, Cook & Co., otherwise than is a whisper! Well, when we get afraid of Palmer, Cook & Co., the Land Commissioners, Mr. Selover, or any of that crowd, we intend writing to the *Mountain Democrat* to know where the "best diggings" are.

We have not done with this subject yet; but we would be doing a great injustice to ourselves, as well as to you, did we not here repeat our entire confidence in the honesty and integrity of your editor-in-chief as conductor of his paper. The allusions in the first part of this article do not apply (we repeat again) to the *Chronicle*. Our space, however, is too limited for further remarks to-day; and repeating what we before said, that the errors of the *Chronicle* are sins of omission, (not commission,) we leave the subject for another number of the *Bulletin*.

THE SAN FRANCISCO HERALD

November 2, 1855

In our strictures on the San Francisco *Chronicle*, we endeavored to draw the line of distinction between the journal and its editor. Our

reason for so doing was, that as the *Chronicle* is owned by a joint stock company, the editor could not be held strictly accountable for anything but his own acts, as shown by the leaders in his paper. Not so with the *Herald*, the proprietorship of which, if we are rightly informed, rests in the editor alone, and he alone is amenable for everything which, with his knowledge, appears in the columns of his paper.

If our memory serves us correctly, the *Herald* started in 1850. It was gotten up, cherished and supported by those who, desirous of having honest men in office, felt the need of some faithful exponent of their principles, to take the place of the miserable apologies then printed and sold for newspapers. And right manfully did the *Herald* fulfil its mission. Soon the entire paper fell into the hands of its present editor. Very many of the present patrons of that journal will remember how nobly its present editor responded to the call. It would do us good to get a peep now at an old file of the San Francisco *Herald*. What scathing rebukes against corruption and dishonesty then emanated from that pen! We often looked in utter amazement at that little man, and wondered where on earth he stored his ammunition. Broadside after broadside—not once, or twice, nor in those general terms that decry vice in the abstract whilst they leave the actors untouched, but day after day, and whenever occasion required it, the *Herald* teemed with denunciations of both measures *and men*, in such terms only as a truly independent press can command.

In the parlor, or even in the club-room, and away from those restraints the presence of the other sex never fails to throw around the ruder part of man’s character, to see the then editor of the *Herald*, with his quiet unassuming, gentlemanly bearing—always polite, never lacking in any of those little courtesies that throw a charm around the social board, never obtruding his own opinion, but when once elicited, firmly and respectfully maintaining it with all the forbearance possible—one could hardly conceive it was his pen that wrote the scorching words applied in the *Herald* to the then corrupt officary of the city and State. Oh, that we had the same *Herald* now, what terrible scourgings would it not give Palmer, Cook & Co., Broderick and others, of a like stamp! The authors of the late swindle at the sale of water lots in this city, would have by this time found the city too hot to hold them.

That Augean stable on Merchant street, between Montgomery street and the Plaza, would have been cleaned of its impurities, and Mr. Selover would never have dreamed of acting his part in the play, though backed by the Governor of the State as prime director.

But, alas! how have the mighty fallen! "The *Herald*," says Mr. Jones, (of Palmer, Cook & Co.,) "look at the *Herald*! it does not trouble us now!" Softly, Mr. Heap, *softly*. Do not stretch that line too taut; it may snap at any moment.

The *Herald* newspaper in times past wielded an immense influence in this city. Starting under the auspices it did, and numbering among its patrons the entire honest portion of the community, both rich and poor, landholder, and tenant, merchant and mechanic and banker, all—all rallied around the defender of the people's rights. Nor has that influence died entirely away. The very best men of this city, in remembrance of its former services, still cling to the *Herald*. Nor are its supporters by any means confined to the better classes. It numbers among its friends the most dangerous portion of this community. Not the shoulder-strikers, ballot-box stuffers, thimble-rig men. No, no; such associations are too repulsive in their nature to meet with favor in that quarter. The *Herald* has a more refined class than that. 'The pink of honor,' and ever ready to respond to the calls of chivalry, the *Herald* numbers among its warmest friends the duelists of every kind and description. Bowie knife men, Colt's revolver men, the parlor pistol adept—all rally around that journal. And with these antipodal classes—the best and the most dangerous of the community—for its supporters, it is said the *Herald* cannot be shaken in the influence it has in this community, and that it is certain death to any journal that undertakes the task. Well, we shall see.

DISREPUTABLE HOUSES

November 8, 1855

... We sent the other day to Mr. Marshal North, to inquire why it was he had not attended to his duty, and informing him that we had a communication for publication which reflects somewhat on his neglect of duty, and if there were any excuse for such neglect, we should like to know it. Mr. North could not come, but sent his deputy, who, when

we told him what we wanted, replied, "Oh, if it is only the ----- houses, pitch in." Now, this is a nice piece of insolence to come from an officer sworn to observe and carry out the law! We hope that some respectable member of the City Council will inquire into the conduct of the City Marshal and his deputies, and, if, possible, turn out the whole beastly set that are guilty, and declare the offices vacant, until better men can be procured. Our patience is about exhausted in this matter. Mr. Marshal North, because he gets a puff now and then from a daily paper in need of an item, and sees himself styled the "worthy and efficient City Marshal," may flatter himself that he is of some consequence. Well, we'll see about this matter. If the Council find they have not power or lack the will to remove Mr. North, or make him do his duty, we will have the records searched, *and learn who owns the houses* rented to these people, and *we will publish their names*, that the respectable portion of the community may know who to admit and who to reject from their firesides. It's no use trying to dodge the *Bulletin*, gentlemen. Janes, Doyle, Barber & Boyd (always excepting Mr. Janes) tried that, *and it wouldn't do*. There are respectable men in the Common Council, and we now await their action. . . .

MURDER, GAMBLING, &C.

November 19, 1855

The cowardly-like assassination on Saturday of the U. S. Marshal General Richardson, on one of our public thoroughfares and within a few yards of Montgomery street, calls for some expression of opinion from us. We are told by those who knew the deceased, that he was a good citizen and an efficient officer, ever diligent in the discharge of his duties. Cora was an Italian assassin and a gambler. The excitement on Saturday night was immense, and strongly reminded us of the old Vigilance Committee times. We passed through those times and scenes, when an incensed and outraged people having no faith in the corrupt ministers of the law, took the administration of the public justice in their own hands, and inflicted merited punishment on the heads of some of the murderers of those days. It was a fearful responsibility, and one that we do not wish again to see resorted to if to be avoided.

We think there is no necessity now for any such demonstration, and

if the sheriffs and the jury will but do their duty, we are confident the Court will do what is right. In the present case all depends on the action of the Sheriff and the jury. Let there be an impartial jury, and given the assassin a fair trial. Thus acted the Vigilance Committee. If he be guilty *he must be hung!* It is due to this community that he should be. The Court, we are satisfied, will be all right, and we warn the sheriff and the gambler friends of this man Cora, that any attempt at rescuing him either by a packed jury or by influence of gold, will raise such an [sic] feeling in this community as will end with more fearful consequences than attended the expulsion of such parties from Vicksburg.

And now we want to know why the laws in this State against gambling are not enforced? The officers know very well that these hells still exist. We heard of a case a few days ago, of a man who was discharged from his work for the simple reason that, though a good workman, his employer could not rely upon him. Gambling with him was a mania. He acknowledged his inability to control himself. His employer, instead of paying him, handed his wages every week to the wife, but this victim could not resist the temptation, and finally his employer was forced to discharge him. Thus by his folly have his wife and children been deprived of the fruits of his labor and left to get along as they can. And all owing to the temptation of these hells of iniquity. Does any one, do the officers of the law, wish to know where this den is? We answer in the upper story of Stephen Whipple's building on Commercial street.

And now about the disreputable houses, at one of which this man Cora was "kept." Have the Committee of Aldermen, appointed for that purpose, agreed on their report? We await their action, and and [sic] that action is needed promptly. General Richardson was the last victim. Who will be the next? Let this man Cora, and the gamblers generally with the disreputable houses meet their deserts, and there will be no need of immigration meetings. The honest and industrious from every land will flock to our shores. It is not the murder of Gen. Richardson that will prevent them, for such an occurrence might have happened on Wall street or State street but it is the sure and prompt punishment of the guilty merderer that will create confidence abroad and fill our cities and mining gulches with an honest and industrious population from every land.

We shall have more to say about gambling at another time.

THE MURDERER AND HIS FRIENDS

November 20, 1855

In yesterday's *Bulletin* we expressed the belief that so far as the case of Cora lay with the courts, justice would be done, but that the true point to be looked at was the Sheriff and the jury. And the more we hear of the character of the present Sheriff, the stronger grows the belief that if this Cora escapes justice at all, it will be by some fault of the Sheriff or his deputies. There is now in this community a feeling of deep distrust, and we warn Mr. Sheriff Scannell, that though he be as innocent himself as an angel from heaven, if by *any* means the prisoner escape, the sin will be laid at the door of the Sheriff and not of his deputies. Let him, therefore, look well to it. What an outrage upon the feelings and good sense of this community to place such a man as Billy Mulligan in charge of the county jail! What an eternal disgrace to this community, that this man Scannell, said to have been keeper of the "Osceola" gambling house, should be elected to the office of Sheriff of this county! And how was he elected! By the same influence that has thus far sustained Broderick, Palmer, Cook & Co., and the like class of men who resort to any means to secure to themselves and their friends the spoils of office. How different would now be the feeling in this community had Johnston been elected instead of Scannell!

If Mr. Scannell has any pretensions to honesty at all, let him forthwith remove Billy Mulligan from the post he now holds. Good heavens, to think of placing Cora with Billy Mulligan for safe keeping! What a farce!

That no effort will be spared to get Cora clear begins now to be made apparent. His friends are already at work. *Forty thousand dollars* it is said has already been subscribed for the purpose. Of this sum, five thousand dollars will be sufficient to cover the lawyer's fees and court charges, and the balance can be used as occasion may require. *One bad man* on the jury will be sufficient to prevent an agreement. Look well to the jury! It is said also that an attempt will be made to change the *venue*, so as to have this matter tried in another county. Another hope is that almost every honest man will have made up his mind on the case, and will not be allowed to serve, so that good men will be thrown out and the friends of the gamblers placed on to try one of their own num-

ber. This excluding a man from the jury because he may have expressed an opinion is one of the greatest evils attending jury trials. How can any honest man avoid, to some extent, forming an opinion? He reads the papers and hears the murder talked of on the street. The opinion thus formed is not under the solemnity of an oath and according to legal evidence, but in the indignant feelings of the moment and based upon the rumors he has heard. No man of common intelligence, and aware of the solemnity of his position as jurymen, is unfit for the duty of sitting on such trials. Cases occur almost daily where honest jurors acquit a man, not because they think him innocent, but because the evidence is not sufficient according to law and the nature of the oath they have taken, to convict him. Let us have a jury of honest men on this case of Cora's.

The welfare of this community, and indeed the reputation of the State is now at stake. The eyes of every well wisher we have in the Atlantic States will be turned to our action in this case with the most anxious solicitude. Murder! murder most foul and dastardly has been committed in our streets, and the blood of the victim crieth aloud for vengeance. The irreparable injury thus inflicted upon the family of the deceased speaks in trumpet tones for retribution. In every family circle the uncertainty of life under such circumstances is the theme of conversation at the fireside, and the very children at the schools gather in knots to discuss the probable length of life to be allowed to their parents by these fiends in human shape who earn their ill-gotten gains at the gambling table, and spend them at the houses of ill-fame that offend the sight of every passer by on the principal thoroughfares.

Look to the sheriff and the jury! Forty thousand dollars have already been raised to aid the prisoner, and the question is asked, how much more will be necessary? The people of this city and State cannot afford to let this man go at forty, or *four hundred* thousand dollars. Money cannot be weighed in this case. A far higher matter—the reputation of our city—is at stake, and must be preserved.

A VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

November 20, 1855

We do not wish to see another Vigilance Committee if possible to be

avoided. We hope as far as the Judges on the bench are concerned, there is no necessity . . . What we *do* want is a respectable sheriff. And that we have not. We want a good Deputy to keep the County jail, and that we have not. We want good officers of the law to break up the gambling dens and move the houses of prostitution from their present localities, and these we have not. We want a bolder and more efficient Mayor and Common Council, who, whether elected next year or not, will, whilst in office, *do their duty*, and these we have not. Now what we propose is this: If the jury which tries Cora is packed, either *hang the Sheriff*, or drum him out of town, and make him resign. If Billy Mulligan lets his friend Cora escape, *hang Billy Mulligan*, or drive him into banishment. The receiver is as bad as the thief, and in this case the man who lets Cora loose to murder another victim, should suffer in his place. And as to the Council, if they shirk their duty in this affair of the houses of prostitution which keep just such men as Cora in our midst, then let a deputation of citizens wait on the City Authorities and ask them to *resign*, and call a new election; and if they don't do it *drum them out of town!* Extreme cases require severe remedies. Now is the time to give warning to these parties to avoid the *necessity* of a Vigilance Committee. And if the above authorities do not act rightly now, we believe such an organization will be resorted to, and it is to show what this feeling is, that we publish this warning. We hope the time and necessity of Vigilance Committees in San Francisco has passed. This case of Cora's and the action of the Council and other authorities on the above mentioned subjects will decide the point.

"HANG BILLY MULLIGAN"

November 22, 1855

That's the word! If Mr. Sheriff Scannell does not remove Billy Mulligan from his present post as Keeper of the County Jail, and Mulligan lets Cora escape, *hang Billy Mulligan*, and if necessary to get rid of the Sheriff, *hang him—hang the Sheriff!*

Strong measures are now required to have justice done in this case of Cora. Citizens of San Francisco! what means this feeling so prevalent in our city that this dastardly assassin will escape the vengeance of the law? A notorious prostitute forces herself into the company—aye, *into*

such close proximity, that the breath of the harlot *fans the cheek* of virtuous innocence, and when the natural guardian of insulted decency remonstrates against such degrading association, he is *shot down* in the public streets in cold blood, unarmed and without a moment's warning! And yet bets are freely offered on the street that the murderer will escape, and his obscene paramour draws on her fund of ill-gotten gains for the sum of *twenty thousand dollars* to aid in his escape! If one single prostitute can thus come forward with twenty thousand dollars, what amount may we not expect to be raised by the whole fraternity of gamblers in the city? What is Sheriff Scannell's price? How much (or how little) will it take to buy Cora's friend and keeper, Billy Mulligan? Night before last a man was shot at by mistake for some one else. Who was the intended victim? Bets are now offered, we have been told, that the editor of the *Bulletin* will not be in existence twenty days longer, and the case of Dr. Hagan (of the Vicksburg paper,) who was murdered by the gamblers of that place, is cited as a warning. Pah! We passed unscathed through worse scenes than the present, at Sutter's Fort, in '48. "War," then, is the cry, is it? War between the prostitutes and gamblers on the one side, and the virtuous and respectable on the other! "War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt!" Be it so, then! Gamblers of San Francisco you have made your election, and "peace is despaired;

For who can think submission? War, then War,

Open or understood, must be resolved."

And we are ready on our side for the issues.

We do not expect to suppress houses of prostitution entirely, *but they must be put out of sight*, and if no law can be devised nor officers found to do this, we are ready for the last alternative, and gambling houses and houses of prostitution must then be *entirely* removed or pulled down about your ears!

Oh! Heavens, what a mortification to every lover of decency and order, in and out of San Francisco, to think that the Sheriff of this county is an ex-keeper of a gambling hell, his deputy, who acts as keeper of the county jail, is the notorious Billy Mulligan, and another deputy, Burne, the late "capper" at a string game table? Merchants of San Francisco, mechanics, bankers—honest men of every calling, hang

your heads in very shame for the disgrace now resting on the city you have built. Scannel, [sic] the "Osceola house gambler," is the Sheriff of this county, and the banking house of Palmer, Cook & Co. is his security!

WILL CORA BE HUNG?

December 12, 1855

To a superficial observer who had witnessed the high excitement on the night of the murder of Gen. Richardson, and who now sees the apparent apathy on this subject, it might seem that the public of San Francisco had entirely lost sight of the foul crime committed on their public thoroughfares, and which so lately raised their indignation to so exciting a pitch. But such would be *only* a superficial view. The excitement, it is true, has died away, but in place of that excitement, which had well nigh again called into action the old Vigilance Committee, a more healthy sentiment has taken place; and whilst a determination to entrust this case, as it should be, to the properly constituted authorities for punishment, has been the result, yet the remembrance of the crime has not passed in the slightest degree from the minds of the people.

But the people of this city are not in favor of taking the law into their own hands, if justice can be had in the court; and no class of men can be found in this community more in favor of law and order than the members of the old Vigilance Committee. But if the court were to relapse into the former farcical apologies we had, it would require but a few hours to again call into action the same body of men, with the addition of, as before, the best business men of the city as members and co-workers.

But, as we stated, just after the murder now referred to was committed, we believe there is no necessity now for any such organization, and God forbid there ever should be again! It is an awful responsibility that rests on each member of such an Association, and one which the most fearful necessities of the circumstances alone can justify to his own conscience. If in the jury room and under oath, with all the authority of law and the charge of the judge, the feeling of a juror be that of solemnity, and the sense of his accountability to a Higher Power as well as to his fellow citizens be an oppressive one, how much greater

the anxiety must be to him, who, without the sanction of law, acts solely with a sense of his accountability to God and his own conscience, we leave it to those of our readers who have not yet passed through such scenes to imagine! If our memory serves us rightly, it was Stuart who in his confessions to the Vigilance Committee, stated that the assassins of that day did not care much, even if an honest jury were, by accident, procured. "In that case," said he, "all we have to do is to fee the District Attorney, and fee the Sheriff!" and he might have added "fee the judges."

But these times have since passed away, and another Vigilance Committee, we hope, never will again be needed in San Francisco. As bad an opinion as we have of the present Sheriff, we do not believe, from all we can learn, that there need be any fear *now* of Cora's escape, if Scannell, of himself, can prevent it. We have taken such *particular pains* to warn that officer of what this public expect of him, that we doubt if he would not as soon lose his own life as let Cora escape. Mr. Scannell himself, we are told, sleeps at the prison every night.

As to the tribunal before which Cora is to appear, we think when we mention that Judge Hager will sit on the bench, his recent conduct will create confidence in every mind. So far as the selecting of the jury goes, the Sheriff's friends say particular pains have been taken to secure some of the best men in the city. And Judge Hager's course has already been foreshadowed in the Lafuente case, where he refused to set aside Mr. Fitch as incompetent to serve. Our readers will remember that in our issue of the 6th instant, we gave Mr. Fitch's answers to the questions put to him on the occasion referred to, as also the decision of Judge Hager. It will be found at the head of the second column of the second page of that day's *Bulletin*, and we recommend a perusal of it.

Every man summoned on that jury, when the question is put to him by the counsel, "Have you formed any opinion on this case?" should make the distinction between an *opinion* and an *impression*. Noah Webster defines an *opinion* to be "the judgment which the mind forms of any event, &c., the truth or falsehood of which is supported by *evidence*." Able lawyers will doubtless be employed by the friends of Cora, and it behooves every man, summoned on that jury, to be on his guard against their subtleties. Newspaper reports, and the talk in the

streets, be it remembered, are not *evidence*, and can only make an *impression*. To form an opinion, strictly speaking, requires *evidence*, and that will for the first time be brought forth during the trial.

Will Cora be hung? We think he will be, but time alone will show. The reputation of this city is at stake in this matter. The welfare of the State at large is now entrusted by force of circumstances into the hands of our citizens. Let it be known that so foul a murder as this one we are now considering can be committed with impunity in our streets and the murderer escape, and farewell to a continued immigration of families to our shores! Where life is so *cheap*, families will prefer not to come, and those now here will leave us as speedily as possible. The time will again come when men, instead of considering this country their home, and conducting themselves accordingly, will live any way, and looking to the Atlantic States as the only safe asylum for their families will hasten to make what money they can, and join their families there, to spend the remainder of their days in security.

But this will not be. There are too many families here now who have made this land their home, and security for life and property must be obtained—from the courts if possible, but have it we must, *any* how. Cora must be hung! The safety of families demands it! The law of the land requires it! The fame of our City and of the State at large will be tarnished without it! And nothing short of that will satisfy the claims of justice. *He must and will be hung!*

THE CORA TRIAL

January 17, 1856

12 o'clock [sic] noon. “Hung be the heavens with black!” The money of the gambler and the prostitute has succeeded, and Cora has another respite! The jury cannot agree, and are discharged! Will Cora be hung by the officers of the law? No. Even on this trial one of the principal witnesses against him was away, having sold out his establishment at \$2,400, and left the State. It is said another trial cannot be had this term, and by that time where will the other witnesses be? Rejoice ye gamblers and harlots! rejoice with exceeding gladness! Assemble in your dens of infamy to-night, and let the costly wine flow freely, and let the welkin ring with your shouts of joy! Your triumph is great—oh, how you have

triumphed! triumphed over everything that is holy, and virtuous, and good, and triumphed legally—yes, *legally*! Your money can accomplish anything in San Francisco, and now you have full permission to run riot at pleasure.

Talk of safety in the law! It is a humbug, the veriest humbug in existence is the present system of jury trials. Had we had a jury of eighteen with a two-thirds vote to govern, an honest jury in this case might have agreed in one hour after leaving the jury-box. Rail at the Vigilance Committee, and call it an illegal tribunal? What scoundrel lost his life by their action who did not most richly deserve it? Men complain of Vigilance Committees and say we ought to leave criminals to be dealt with by law! Dealt with by law, indeed! How dealt with—to be allowed to escape, when ninety-nine men out of a hundred believe the prisoner to be guilty of murder? Is not this very course calculated to drive an already exasperated people to madness, and instead of a Vigilance Committee with all its care and anxiety to give a fair trial without the technicalities of the law, to call into action the heated blood of an outraged community that, rising in their might, may carry everything before them, and hang the wretch without even the semblance of a trial?

We want no Vigilance Committee if it can be avoided, but we do want to see the murderer punished for his crimes. If we remember rightly, one article in the Constitution of the Vigilance Committee was, that *no lawyer could become a member*! Peter the Great, when in Paris once, said he had but three lawyers in his Empire, and he intended hanging two of them immediately on his return. What purpose does the law serve but to bind honest men and let loose the vile and guilty? Our jury system, as we have before frequently stated, is all wrong. We have again and again called the attention of the legal fraternity to our suggestions, to have it changed and inquired if such a thing was not practicable. But lawyers will not come up to the question. The law as it now is, with its technicalities, like so many loop-holes for the criminal to escape, is too tempting for those whose chances for fees would be diminished in the same proportion as the chances of escape were narrowed down.

Well, what is to be done? Shall Cora be taken from the Sheriff and

hung by the citizens? No, God forbid! Let's hear from the honest men on this jury. Let's hear what they think of it. Let's have another trial, even if it be a farce. Try another jury. Let nothing be done in haste, and afterwards repented in sorrow. In the meanwhile, let every honest man defend himself as he can. Billy Mulligan is about, and gloats over the victory achieved by the infamous paramour of the murderer.

Weep, ye honest men of San Francisco! Weep for the fame of the fair city ye have built! Weep, ye honest men who prefer humble cottages and food and raiment honestly gained, to the riches acquired at the gambler's iniquitous den. Weep, ye virtuous women of San Francisco—ye wives and daughters of honest mechanics and merchants—weep for the times of which ye have fallen! Mourn, mourn for the degradation of your adopted State! The brazen harlot, *piqued* because she is not allowed to come into your society, may hire her paramour to shoot down with impunity your natural protectors—your father or brother—to glut her revenge, and then boast of her ill gotten gold as being more powerful than the cause of virtue, and innocence, and truth.

We have no more room to-day, but will refer to this matter to-morrow. Cora has escaped this time on the testimony of gamblers. Who, under the circumstances, would take a gambler's oath? Are they to be believed at all? We have yet to rid this town of these pirates and their degraded female associates. Gamblers, we warn you! remember Vicksburg! You may yet be set adrift with this impious woman, Belle Cora, to drift where the ebb tide may carry you through the entrance to our harbor! Beware!

THE U. S. MARSHALSHIP

April 18, 1856

... Fourteen hundred souls left our wharves on last steamer day! Our State is being drained of its best population. The women and children—aye, *native born* California children, too, the delight of our State, are leaving our shores, eastward bound. Reader, let us not deceive ourselves with the hope that these things can be hid from our friends at the east, they *cannot*. The list of passengers tells the tale, the return to their former homes of familiar faces tells the tale, and the accounts there given of the state of affairs here, tell a *far worse tale*, so far as effect goes, than even the whole truth would justify. What is the tale? It is

not that our citizens, in intelligence, morality, virtue and love of order, are, as a whole, equal, if not superior to any portion of the Union. But it is that our public men, our representatives, our office holders, instead of being from our best classes, are of the most *notorious scoundrels in the community!* And who can dispute the fact? Look at the state of affairs in this city! Look at this Council, who fortunately having their hands tied, *can't* do much harm, but refusing to do what little good they might do. Look at the Board of Supervisors running this county in debt at a railroad speed, that if not checked will end in ruin. Look at your Mayor, imbecile for any good, and encouraging rogues and scoundrels by his leniency. Look at your public offices, filled, not by honest merchants or mechanics, or respectable men of any calling, but by gamblers, and thieves, and shoulder-strikers.

The post of U. S. Marshal is filled by a gambler, whose position and influence is obtained by his nefarious gains at the monte table. This man, McDuffie, a notorious gambler from Marysville, holds an office to which he has been recommended by Senator Weller, and from which it is said the President of the United States *dare* not remove him. We are no admirer of Mr. Pierce, but we do not believe this slander against him. Mr. Pierce has said, through his recognized organ at Washington, that "the good people of California need give themselves no uneasiness on McDuffie's account." And now, we ask, where is the document that was to have removed McDuffie? If the President *did* entrust that paper to Senator Weller, the latter has most shamefully abused the confidence of the Chief Magistrate. The people of this State demand that the companion of the gambler and associate of harlots shall be removed, and an honest man placed in his stead. A *chevalier d'industrie* like McDuffie does not represent the people of this State, *however faithfully* he may reflect the habits of Mr. Senator Weller.

Mr. Senator Weller says had he known McDuffie was a gambler he would not have recommended him. *It is false*, and Mr. Weller's present action is proof of the falsity of his assertion. He knows now that McDuffie was a gambler, and if Mr. Weller were truthful, an *honest indignation* at the deceit practiced on him would urge him *the more* to have McDuffie removed. But what is the result? Just observe the stealthy steps by which this unfaithful public servant approaches his point and

feels his way to public opinion? First, he is indignant at having been deceived. Next, he says if McDuffie gambles now, he shall be removed; and finally, when he thinks the public pulse will bear it, he says, through a private letter, that he will *not* inquire into the past life of McDuffie, and no matter *how* that notorious gambler has acquired his money, if he has *stopped* gambling, it is enough for Mr. Weller! What wonder that honest men are moving out of the State where such sentiments are unblushingly avowed by those in authority! The harlot is lauded to the skies in open Court, by Col. Baker, and held up as a pattern of virtue and decency! The pimp and gambler is supported by Mr. Weller, in preference to honest men, for the post of U. S. Marshal.

And yet this same city of San Francisco will compare favorably as to intelligence and sobriety of the very vast majority of her citizens, with any in the Union. Why then should she be cursed with such an officary? Why should the unjust inferences that are drawn from the facts above set forth operate so much to her disadvantage, as well as to that of the whole State? Our people suffer from these things most undeservedly. Another election here will remedy the evil in some measure as to the elective offices, but in the Federal appointments we must look to Washington for redress. Our appeal is to the President of the United States, and we urge upon the Chief Magistrate of the Confederacy to listen to the voice of the people. *Withdraw* that document from Mr. Weller. Remove this notorious gambler from the office he holds, and let not the action of the Federal Government any longer be used to the disadvantage of our honest citizens, and to the prejudice of the State. We want the minds of the people at the East to be disabused in this matter. The people of this State *do not* regard gambling as a legitimate business. Their Senator at Washington does not represent them. When here, Mr. Weller moves not among the circles of honest mechanics, or respectable merchants or business men of any class, but among gamblers like McDuffie.

Mr. Weller says he will not enquire into the past life of any man. *He dare not!* The precedent would be dangerous for himself! Mr. Weller's *own house* is of too fragile a material to justify his throwing the first stone! Inquire if a man *has* been a gambler? *Not he!* Such a test might be dangerous to Mr. Weller's own future prospects. Mr. Weller

says now he does not care, he *will* support McDuffie, and his "enemies may *howl* as much as they please." Such are the exact words in his letter before alluded to. What insolence! Does Mr. Weller suppose his position is too high to be reached? Does he think because the people do not vote directly for Senator that their wishes will not be regarded? He may learn his mistake before long. We again most respectfully, but earnestly, call on the President for the *immediate* removal of this man McDuffie, who by his own confession has made his money behind a low faro-table, and drawn his promiscuous gains from the unwary whom he has seduced to his den. He has been the companion of Cora, who murdered the late incumbent of the office now held by himself. Immediately on the death of Richardson he left for Washington, to apply for the office thus vacated by violence and bloodshed, whilst *during his absence* his old partner, Van Read, another companion of Cora's was hunting up testimony to clear the murderer! Will the President of the United States be firm and just in his action? We trust he will. The responsibility now rests with him. The facts are before him as plain as though thousands of signatures had attested to their truth. McDuffie himself has confessed them. We await the result.

May 14, 1856

Among the names mentioned by 'A Purifier' in his communication of Friday last, as objectionable appointments to the Custom House, was that of Mr. Bagley, who has since called on us, and by whose request we have made more particular inquiries into the charges made against him. On Monday we told Mr. Bagley that we could not feel justified in withdrawing the general charge against him, for though in the particular cases mentioned we had not been satisfied that he was the party at fault, yet the general character we heard was against him. To this Mr. Bagley urged that our informants were all enemies of his, which, in one sense of the word, is true, though they are not the persons he supposes. At our last interview with Mr. B. we told him that if he could bring some respectable persons, known to us, who would vouch for him, and explain away what had been told us, we would take pleasure in saying as much in our paper. Several such have called on us, but whilst they are *unanimous* in saying that Bagley behaves himself very well at present, yet when we ask them, for instance, about the fight

with Casey, they cannot explain it satisfactorily. Our impression at the time was, that in the Casey fight Bagley was the aggressor. It does not matter how bad a man Casey had been, nor how much benefit it might be to the public to have him out of the way, we cannot accord to any one citizen the right to kill him, or even beat him, without justifiable personal provocation.

The fact that Casey has been an inmate of Sing-Sing prison in New York, is no offense against the laws of this State; nor is the fact of his having stuffed himself through the ballot-box as elected to the Board of Supervisors from a district where it is said he was not even a candidate, any justification for Mr. Bagley to shoot Casey, however richly the latter may deserve to have his neck stretched for such fraud on the people. These are acts against the *public* good, not against Mr. Bagley in particular, and however much we may detest Casey's former character, or be convinced of the shallowness of his promised reformation, we cannot justify the assumption by Mr. Bagley to take upon himself the redressing of these wrongs. This case of Bagley's has caused us much anxiety, and we should have been pleased to have withdrawn cheerfully his name from the list alluded to, but we cannot conscientiously do more than express our gratification at the assurances we get of his present conduct, in which we trust he will persevere. As to the Casey fight, we suggest to Mr. Bagley if he can explain that away, it would not be amiss to do so, and he can have the use of our columns for that purpose.

Pomona's Call to Fame

By T. C. HINCKLEY

JUST SEVENTY YEARS AGO there occurred in California an episode which helped to decide a presidential contest and, incidentally, provided wide publicity for the inconspicuous citrus hamlet of Pomona.

In 1888, the Democratic nominee, President Grover Cleveland, was being challenged by GOP standard bearer Benjamin Harrison. Cleveland asked the electorate to return him to the White House on the basis of his administrative honesty and assorted Democratic Party planks, the most important of which was tariff reduction. Harrison, grandson of an earlier president, assaulted every weak position in the opposition's camp and voiced the necessity of maintaining a protective tariff.

Voicing the necessity did not settle it. As late as April 2, 1892, almost four years after the 1888 presidential campaign, Cleveland was to satirize his rivals as "the grave and sedate Republican statesmen who . . . never, *never*, could consent to subserve the interests of England at the expense of their own country, as the wicked Democrats proposed to do. . . ." But the war which had exaggerated the tariff question had ended twenty years and more ago. Now these same Republicans, who "devotedly loved our workingmen and were determined that their employment should be constant," were willing to readjust the tariff, if the readjustment could only be done by their party's friends instead of "rebel Brigadiers."¹ The Republican innuendo of a connection between the Democrats and the late Confederate States of America, referred to here by Cleveland, was countered by the Democrats' casting of aspersions on the Republicans as big-business sympathizers — this despite the fact that Cleveland's own secretary of the navy was William C. Whitney, son-in-law of the Ohio Standard Oil magnate, Senator Henry B. Payne. Yet heated electioneering is traditionally American; and the *Los Angeles Times* could report with considerable truth on October 23, 1888, that "the national campaign has been one of fact, argument . . . a decorous contest such as no American need blush for."

But even as the *Times* was expressing such sentiments, a news story it itself had released two days earlier was very rapidly terminating any "decorous" quality which the presidential contest had had up to that moment. The *Times'* scoop laid open to prominence what historians have since labeled the "Murchison Letter" affair, involving Sir Lionel Sackville-West, British minister at Washington since 1881.

One version, emanating from Indianapolis on January 2, 1889, and published on page one of the San Francisco *Morning Call* of the following day under the headline, "Murchison Letter — History of the Missive Given to Harrison," ran as follows:

The Murchison letter is again the topic of discussion here. It has just been learned that Colonel Clarkson of the National Republican Committee when here recently gave General Harrison the facts in relation to it. According to Clarkson it was dictated by Lieutenant Governor Sheldon of Los Angeles to an Englishman who was a member of the St. George's Society. When Cleveland's fisheries message was made public Sheldon regarded it as buncombe and conceived the idea that its effects could be neutralized in some way. Not caring to write to Minister West himself he induced an Englishman to write for him on the plea that he wanted his opinion on an important matter and he dictated the famous Murchison letter to which Minister West made reply. Several days after he received the reply he communicated the fact to the Republican National Committee and copies were ordered published.

George Osgoodby (pseudonym, "Charles F. Murchison") was a citrus grower of Pomona, California, who had been a long-time supporter of the Grand Old Party. Like all his San Gabriel Valley neighbors, he was concerned about the real-estate slump which had toppled the Southern California land boom of 1886-87. His support of Benjamin Harrison was strengthened by southland talk of how Cleveland's projected tariff-reduction might encourage Italian olive-oil competition, as well as indirectly introduce other foreign products.² He was not a native Californian. In company with his brother Andrew and father John and their families, he had come to the dusty citrus village of Pomona in the late 1870's. By 1884, John and his sons had made enough money to purchase 40 acres just west of Pomona, on which they planted fruit trees and vines.³ As has often happened in American history, the local land values rapidly increased. The *Transactions* of the California State Agricultural Society for 1888 had this to say about the Pomona

land values from which the Osgoodby men profited: within twenty-five years an "unclaimed treeless waste, which no one cared to own even at \$200 an acre" now is "selling at the rate of \$5000 or more an acre."⁴ By 1887, the mounting demand for residence-property led the Osgoodby men to subdivide their land and sell it as the Lemar tract. This was the beginning of what appears to have been a series of astute financial transactions; Andrew, who had the head for figures, later became so affluent as to serve as something of a private banker.

The series of communications which took the public eye off Pomonan land values and fastened it squarely on Pomonan letter-writers — one in particular, that is — began on September 4, 1888, when "Charles F. Murchison" wrote to the British minister inquiring whether a vote for Cleveland and against the Republican system of tariff would not be doing the mother country a service. The letter read in part:

Mr. Cleveland's message to Congress on the fishery question justly excites our alarm. . . . Mr. Harrison is a high-tariff man, a believer on the American side of all questions, and undoubtedly an enemy to British interests generally. This State is equally divided between the parties, and a mere handful of our naturalized countrymen can turn it either way. When it is remembered that a small State (Colorado) defeated Mr. Tilden in 1876 and elected Hayes, the Republican, the importance of California is at once apparent to all. . . . I apply to you privately and confidentially for information, which shall in turn be treated as entirely secret. . . .⁵

Parenthetically, one wonders just how much electioneering the pseudonymous Murchison was prepared to do to garner the votes of the "mere handful" of naturalized Britishers that were to swing California into the Democratic fold. In Los Angeles County it might not have been difficult, the census of 1890 showing 4353 English, Welsh, and Scottish-born, taken together, in contrast to 2170 for the Irish-born; but the story would have been different in San Francisco County where the same census gives 9828 English, 3181 Scottish, and 357 Welsh-born, against 30,718 for the Irish-born, presumably anti-British in political sentiment. Presumably, also, they were pleased at what had excited Murchison's "alarm," namely, Cleveland's turning the tables on Congress. For when Cleveland requested retaliation against the British he had quashed the senatorial claim that by refusing to ratify the Canadian fisheries treaty signed in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1888, the

Senate, unlike the President, was determined that American rights should be protected.⁶

In his response, dated September 13, 1888, from Beverly, Massachusetts, Sir Lionel made no reference to California but said that he could well appreciate Mr. Murchison's uncertainty in casting his vote. Mr. Murchison probably knew, he said, "that any political party which openly favored the Mother Country . . . would lose popularity" — a fact of which the Democrats themselves were "fully aware." But he believed that the latter were

desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and . . . of settling all questions with Canada which have been unfortunately reopened since the retraction of the treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate and by the President's message, to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election thus created. It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in the matter of retaliation should he be elected; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his message. I enclose an article from the *New York Times* of August 22, and remain, Yours faithfully, L. S. Sackville-West.⁷

The apparently innocent character of Murchison's letter and Sackville-West's natural inclination to take it at its face value — a fellow Britisher looking to his country's representative for enlightenment in a foreign country — resulted in what one historian has called a "political trick or roorback . . . a trap baited for Sir Lionel . . .";⁸ another characterized it as "a mean and petty fraud, and still meaner clamor."⁹ A contemporary newspaper editorial even expressed a certain amount of understanding of the equivocal position in which the letter had placed Sackville-West. In its issue of October 22, 1888, the *San Francisco Chronicle* said:

The letter that the British minister at Washington has written to an Englishman at Pomona bears out the general comment made here and in England in regard to the insincerity of Cleveland's retaliation message. Even the Democrat who swears by Cleveland could not suppress a snicker when he read Grover's simulated anger against Great Britain, coming as it did so close on the heels of the fisheries message. Minister West is very diplomatic in his phraseology, but the gist of his letter is that Cleveland is a good friend of England, and that he can be counted on not to damage English interests. It must give that mugwump journal,

the *New York Times*, great pleasure to know that the British Minister approves its course in backing up the chief apostle of free trade.

What retaliation as authorized by act of Congress and approved March 3, 1887, actually signified to Cleveland he explained in a letter dated April 7, 1887, to George Steele, president of the American Fishery Union, Gloucester, Massachusetts. Retaliation was not to be enforced to protect any one industry, however valuable, but to maintain the national honor and thus protect all the people. Unfriendly acts toward a portion of U. S. citizens engaged in the fishing business constitute, he said, "a national affront which gives birth to or may justify retaliation . . . and in the performance of international rights, and the protection of our citizens, this government and the people of the United States must act as a unit — all intent upon attaining the best result of retaliation upon the basis of a maintenance of national honor and dignity. . . ." ¹⁰

Honor and dignity are all very well on a national scale, but the net result of the Osgoodby, alias Murchison, trick was to bring dishonor on a friendly country's minister. On October 30, 1888, Sackville-West received the following letter from Thomas Bayard, secretary of state in President Cleveland's cabinet:

My Lord: The President of the United States has instructed me to inform you that for good and sufficient causes, which are known to yourself, and have been duly brought to the knowledge of your Government, he has with great regret become convinced that it would be incompatible with the best interests and detrimental to the good relations of both Governments that you should any longer hold your present official position in the United States, and that accordingly the Government of Her Britannic Majesty will without delay be informed of this determination, in order that another channel may be established for the transmission of such communications as may be found desirable by the two governments in the transaction of their business. . . . I now beg leave to inclose a passport in the customary form. ¹¹

Upon Bayard's refusal to give his letter to reporters, the latter had indulged in a free-for-all as to its probable contents, the *San Francisco Chronicle* of November 3, 1888, introducing its version with the remark, "here is the letter, or, at least, a sketch of it." After expressions of regret at the political necessity that had given rise to his action, Bayard is made to say: ". . . your Lordship will doubtless perceive that, under

the circumstances, a hiatus would be preferable to your continuous presence. . . . His Excellency desires me to say that if your Lordship will kind of stay around Washington until next Wednesday, November 7th, he thinks he may be able to cancel this letter and fix the matter up. . . ." It hardly needs to be pointed out that the San Francisco *Chronicle* was strongly Republican, supplementary evidence being the exhortation, at the end of the above paragraph, to "Vote the straight Republican ticket and relieve the city of the curse of bossism."

Though Queen Victoria's minister lost his diplomatic post, there was some amelioration in the fact that two weeks earlier (October 16), he had, upon the death of his older brother, succeeded to both the title and magnificent estate of Baron Sackville of Knole. And though, for a time, friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain were strained over the minister's dismissal, the strain did not prevent Cupid from conducting his own tariff-less traffic in hearts. A few days after Bayard sent his letter to the new Baron Sackville, Joseph Chamberlain, one of the British plenipotentiaries who had framed the rejected Canadian fisheries treaty, was married to Miss Endicott, daughter of Cleveland's secretary of war.¹²

What had been going on, meanwhile, in Pomona, one-time simple southern California whistle-stop, soon to achieve national notoriety? The clipping from the *New York Times* of August 22, 1888, enclosed by Sir Lionel in his letter to Murchison, must have entertained Osgoodby and his Republican neighbors, especially the opening sentence:

The discussion and rejection of the fisheries treaty is perhaps the most remarkable instance of narrow partisanship in the treatment of a great international question ever known in our history. . . . We are confident that the sober sense of the people all this while has not been deceived. Every logical claim of the fishing interests would have been secured by the ratification of the treaty. . . .

Support of the administration in the election, the article continued, will leave the question open for friendly means of settlement.

Together with Sir Lionel's letter, the clipping added fast-burning fuel to the conclusion that the President was pro-British. It was only at the urging of his friends, and after he had held the damning epistle for 28 days, that Osgoodby turned it over to the Republican Party managers in Los Angeles. Among these men were Judge W. F. Fitzgerald and Harrison Gray Otis, publisher-editor of the *Los Angeles Times*,

who immediately recognized the campaign windfall,¹³ and on Sunday, October 21, 1888 (some nine days before Bayard wrote his dismissal letter to Sackville-West), Otis published both the Murchison and Sackville-West letters under the title, "The Anglo-Democratic Alliance." It was pointed out that throughout the minister's letter ran "an undercurrent of complete confidence" in Cleveland's attitude. "One would judge that the writer was conscious that a satisfactory private arrangement exists between the Administration and the British government upon questions at issue between the two countries."

Harrison Gray Otis and his paper were straightway acclaimed by ardent Republicans for having released the correspondence. A letter from Topeka said that, "In view of your [Otis'] services in connection with the Murchison letter we Kansas Republicans hereby appoint you minister to the Court of St. James under the new administration."¹⁴ There was also enough limelight for Pomona and the mysterious Mr. Murchison to have a sizable share focussed on them, including an offer of \$500 from the California Dime Museum, Pomona, if Murchison would appear at their establishment for a short time; they could also book him in eastern museums on "equally satisfactory terms."¹⁵

Such ideas seem to have been revolting to Osgoodby. On January 8, 1889, when the *Los Angeles Times* revealed the identity of "Murchison," Osgoodby spent the entire day closeted with counsel in Los Angeles. His reply to representatives of the press was "no statement."¹⁶ But Pomona was different. For a few weeks it made the front page of newspapers from New York to San Francisco,¹⁷ and, looking back, we can forgive the Pomona *Daily Times* for the superlatives with which it reported the sequence of events. The news item in its October 30, 1888, edition — the date of Bayard's dismissal letter to Lord Sackville — was simply the gleeful shout of a small town which, for but a moment, had caught the nation's attention: "A gentleman just arrived from the East says that from the time he left home all stations and stopping places, in cities, towns, and country, Pomona was on all lips. Let it be known then that Pomona is one of the most thrifty and desireable. . . ."

In 1888-89 there was no Gallup pollster to register the reaction of New York's Irish voters to the Murchison Letter affair. However, the fact that the episode had smeared Cleveland with the pro-British brush

undoubtedly lost him some of the Irish vote. Most historians feel that Sir Lionel Sackville-West's indiscretion was one of the significant elements in the New York defeat of Grover Cleveland for re-election. On November 6th, the incumbent secured a popular (country-wide) vote of 5,540,050 as opposed to the 5,444,337 votes cast for Benjamin Harrison.¹⁸ Despite this popular mandate, Cleveland's loss in New York had been mortal. Just as had happened four years before, the Empire State's large electoral vote made the difference; and Grover Cleveland, like James G. Blaine, lost the election.

NOTES

1. *Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland*, ed. by George F. Parker (New York, 1892), p. 326.

2. George Merritt, "Story of the Murchison Letter," sent to Homer Duffy in 1936 on Pomona's Bi-Centennial celebration (copy in Pomona Public Library); see *Pacific Rural Press*, July 14, 1888, for California growers' objections to proposed reduction of tariff on raisins from 2 cents to 1½ cents per pound.

3. The acreage was then the end of West Second Street. Frank P. Brackett, *History of Pomona Valley, California* (Los Angeles, Historic Record Co., 1920), p. 258.

4. (Sacramento, 1889), p. 594.

5. 50th Cong., 2d sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 150* (serial no. 2652), "Message from the President of the U. S. transmitting a report from the Sec'y of State in relation to the case of Lord Sackville," A.

6. Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland, a Study in Courage* (New York, 1933), p. 428.

7. As in note 5, B; an authentic facsimile insert on pp. 44-45 has minor differences.

8. Frederic L. Paxson, article on Grover Cleveland in *Dict. Am. Biog.* (New York, 1930), IV, 205-12, esp. p. 209. "Roorback" (or roorbach) — a slander, originally aimed against James K. Polk in 1844 — would appear to be appropriately applied, geographically, here, as the slurs were supposed to have been excerpts from Baron Roorbach's *Tour through the Western and Southern States in 1836*.

9. Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

10. *Letters and Addresses of Grover Cleveland*, ed. by Albert Ellery Bergh (New York, 1909), p. 101.

11. As in note 5, No. 6. See also Charles S. Campbell, Jr., "Dismissal of Lord Sackville," *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.*, March, 1958, pp. 635-48. In describing the various pressures to which Bayard was subjected, the author characterizes him (p. 646) as a "scrupulously honorable man . . . with . . . a deep desire to improve Anglo-American relations." Also mentioned are the erroneous advices tendered the secretary of state as to the British prime minister's wishes respecting the dismissal of Lord Sackville.

12. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. (1911). William C. Endicott's daughter was Chamberlain's third wife.

13. Otis to Sen. John Sherman, Feb. 19, 1889 (John Sherman MSS, Library of Congress).

14. *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 8, 1889.

15. *Pomona Daily Times*, Nov. 9, 1888.

16. *New York Times*, Jan. 9, 1889.

17. Prominent British newspapers provided coverage of the affair's international implications, but gave little information on the happenings in Pomona.

18. "Presidential Campaign [1888]," *Encyc. Amer. Hist.*, ed. by Richard B. Morris, I (1953), 260.

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Established in 1945

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In Memoriam

OLIVE HOLBROOK PALMER

It is unusual for the span of life of a father and daughter to extend over a period of one hundred twenty-eight years as did that of Charles Holbrook and his daughter Olive Holbrook Palmer.

Descended from an English ancestor who arrived in New England in 1643, Charles Holbrook was born in New Hampshire in 1830 and arrived in San Francisco in 1850. His early business life was in Sacramento, where he married Susan Hurd in 1866. He moved his business to San Francisco the following year and until his death in 1925 contributed much as a business executive and philanthropist to the life of the city.

Born February 24, 1878, in the family home on Bush Street, Olive Holbrook Palmer died March 28, 1958, just two blocks from her birthplace. Educated at Miss West's School here and at Miss Porter's School at Farmington, Connecticut, she was married June 3, 1903, at the family home, Elmwood, in Menlo Park to Silas H. Palmer.

The story of the activities and benefactions of Olive Holbrook Palmer is an impressive one. She was generous of her time and effort in advancing the welfare of the organizations in which she was interested, as well as in financial support.

She was a member of the California Historical Society since 1930 and served a term as Director; a devoted member of the Century Club and its President for two terms; a member of the Woman's Athletic Club, the Town and Country Club and the San Francisco Garden Club of which she was President for a term. Her interest in gardens extended to membership in the Woodside-Atherton Garden Club and the Garden Club of America. At various times she was a member of the Board of Directors of and gave generous financial support to the following organizations: St. Dorothy's Rest Association; San Francisco Kindergarten Association; the Children's Hospital; Protestant Episcopal Old Ladies' Home; Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; Colonial Dames of America, San Francisco Chapter; and Pacific School of Religion.

She established the Charles Holbrook Memorial Grove in the State Redwood Parks by gift to the Save-The-Redwoods League, of which she was a life member and Councilor. She established four scholarships at Stanford University and one at the University of California in the names of various members of her family, and gave other substantial unallocated gifts to Stanford University. It was disclosed after her death that the old family estate of Elmwood had been left to the town of Atherton as a public park, subject to its exclusive use by her husband during his lifetime. After personal bequests the residue of her estate was left to various schools, churches, and other institutions in the Bay Area.

Olive Holbrook Palmer was as modest as she was generous. Many of her kindly acts will never be known. Her death is a great loss to the city of her love, as well as to her host of friends.

WALTER A. STARR

MARCUS CAUFFMAN SLOSS

Death came to Marcus (to his family and friends "Max") C. Sloss on May 17, 1958. It was hard to believe he was born in the year 1869, when the Victorian era had reached its zenith. Until his final illness, he somehow seemed to his contemporaries much younger than he was, so well had he kept his active but serene mind abreast the progressively different, diverse, and varied problems of a rapidly changing world.

Perhaps his origins were partially responsible. He was the youngest of five children born to his pioneer parents, Louis and Sarah Sloss, who came to California in the days of the Gold Rush. The best of these pioneers combined with their ambitions to succeed a deep sense of responsibility. His parents moved to this city from Sacramento in 1861 and in the early seventies Louis Sloss became President of the Alaska Commercial Company. He was soon regarded as a highly capable man of large business affairs and the family attained prominence in the business and social life of San Francisco by reason of their readiness to participate wholeheartedly in its civic, business, and cultural activities.

Max Sloss received his pre-university education in the schools of San Francisco and was graduated from Harvard with honors in 1890, with the degree of A.B. Three years later he received his degree of Bachelor of Laws from the Harvard Law School. It was undoubtedly during the years that he studied at this great university that he laid the firm foundations of an intellectual equipment which was to be his standby throughout his life. He has been described as one having an eager mind and a naturally studious temperament, but differing from other brilliant students in his classes by his quiet confidence and assurance in the pursuit of his objectives. He always appeared to possess that rare quality of personal development which seemingly attains without effort the summit of a chosen career.

Shortly after his graduation, Judge Sloss was married to the gifted Hattie Hecht of Boston, and during their long and happy married life her energetic encouragement complemented and spurred his fine talents to attain their full potentials. Upon returning to San Francisco, the young lawyer became associated with the prominent law firm of Chickering, Thomas, and Gregory and several years later became a partner in the firm. He was elected a Judge of the Superior Court of the City and County of San Francisco in 1900 and soon displayed such outstanding legal and personal qualifications for this post that six years later Governor Pardee appointed him to the vacancy in the Supreme Court of the State created by the death of Associate Justice Walter Van Dyke. Public approval of the way he performed his duties was shown on two subsequent occasions when he was re-elected to the same position. After serving with great distinction as Associate Justice for thirteen years, Judge Sloss, due to circumstances beyond his control, resigned his promising position on the Bench, and re-entered private law practice with his two sons, Richard L. and Frank H. Sloss, and Mr. John G. Eliot, under the firm name of Sloss & Eliot.

The resignation of Judge Sloss from the Supreme Court was greatly regretted by his colleagues of the Court and by the entire Bench and Bar of California. He had established an enviable reputation and was regarded as the pillar of strength on the Court and one who would be sorely missed there. His background on the Bench, combined with his known fairness and impartiality, created a demand for the services of Judge Sloss at once as a mediator in the field of labor disputes and as an arbitrator in controversies between individuals engaged in business or financial transactions.

Busy as he was in his law practice, Judge Sloss somehow found the time to be active in a great number of civic, educational, and philanthropic projects of vital importance to the community and always responded cheerfully when duty summoned him. He was honored by his profession and served it well as a member of the Board of Governors of the California State Bar and as a member of the American Law Institute.

Judge Sloss was a very active and valued member of the Board of Trustees of Stanford University for over thirty years. His work for the city of San Francisco on the Boards of the San Francisco Library and the San Francisco Law Library, as well as his chairmanship of the San Francisco Emergency Relief Committee during the depression years of the 1930's, won him the highest commendation. The charitable and philanthropic institutions of this city and elsewhere in whose work he participated were so many that to enumerate them would be merely a listing of a great number of the institutions of this community that occupy these fields.

"Hail and farewell" to a great gentleman, an embodiment of intellectual strength, generosity, culture, and amiability — above all, possessed of a rare charm that completely won those whose fortune it was to know him. Measured in terms of his contributions to public service and measured by the esteem and affection of his friends and his influence on the lives of many who did not know him, he left his mark indelibly on this community.

In addition to his wife and sons, Judge Sloss is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Margaret Kuhns, and five grandchildren.

SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN

JOSEPH SCOTT

Joseph Scott, Los Angeles lawyer, civic, Catholic, and Republican leader, died March 24, 1958, at the Queen of Angels Hospital in Los Angeles. His ninetieth birthday had been celebrated some months earlier, on which occasion a thousand of his friends assembled in the Biltmore Bowl to do him honor.

Mr. Scott was born at Penrith in the north of England on July 16, 1867, the son of a Scotch Presbyterian father and an Irish Catholic mother — Joseph and Mary (Donnelly) Scott. There was so much thunder and lightning the night of his

birth that when his mother first took him in her arms she said: "He will be a stormy petrel."

Joseph Scott's early education was at a Catholic school, St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Durham, and at London University.

He came to the United States in 1889 and got a job as a laborer in a Massachusetts paper mill. When the job was finished he went to New York, with two dollars in his pocket, tried but failed to get work on a newspaper, so took a hod-carrier's job and helped build a Presbyterian church. When an offer came from St. Bonaventure's College in Allegany, New York, he accepted it gladly and became professor of rhetoric and English literature. On a Tuesday in 1890 he had been carrying mortar up a five-story ladder; two days later he was facing a body of students. At Allegany he spent three and a half happy years.

In June of 1893 he turned to California and came to Los Angeles. Having read some law at Allegany he continued his legal studies, came under the tutelage of Judge J. A. Anderson, and was admitted to the bar in April of 1894. In later years he was admitted to the United States Circuit and District Courts of the Southern District of California and to the United States Supreme Court. He became a member of the Los Angeles, the California, and the American Bar associations.

In addition to a career in law — marked by participation in several famous cases which perhaps justified his mother's prediction — he was active in many fields of civic and religious service. In 1907 he helped found the Southwest Museum, serving throughout the following half century on its board of trustees, of which he was president for three years. He served on the Los Angeles Board of Education for ten years (five as president) and headed the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce for eleven years, beginning in 1910. He was a member of the Los Angeles Charter Revision Committee in 1902 and vice president of the Board of Freeholders to draft a city charter in 1912. During World War I he was chairman of the Exemption Draft Board for the First District of Southern California. He was a leader in founding the Los Angeles Community Chest, was its president in 1932-35, and was active in the Boy Scout movement. In 1931 he was named "Los Angeles' Most Useful Citizen" by the Los Angeles Realty Board.

As a Catholic layman his activities were numerous. He made nation-wide lecture tours on behalf of the Supreme Board of the Knights of Columbus. He was speaker at three International Eucharistic congresses. He was decorated by three popes. He was Dean Emeritus of Loyola Law School.

Mr. Scott was a member of the Los Angeles Division No. 1, Ancient Order of Hibernians. His club affiliations included the California, the Newman, the Sunset, the Uplifters, the Los Angeles Athletic, and the Pasadena Athletic, and he was a member of both the Historical Society of Southern California and the California Historical Society.

On his death he left a widow, three sons, three daughters, and 23 grandchildren.

W. W. ROBINSON

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NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

THEODORE CHARLES HINCKLEY is currently a graduate student and teaching associate at Indiana University. Following service as a Naval flyer in World War II, he received his B.A. at Claremont Men's College, Claremont, California; and his M.A. at the University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Hinckley's interest in the history of Southern California began during his student days at Claremont. At that time he gathered some of the material for his current article on the near-by community of Pomona.

FRANCIS PRICE, a past president of the Santa Barbara Historical Society, is a native of Santa Barbara and senior partner of Price, Postel, and Parma, a law firm founded in 1852. After receiving A.B. and J.D. degrees at Stanford University, Mr. Price embarked upon a distinguished law career which has been equalled by a noted contribution in the field of his avocation: California history. Mr. Price is the author of numerous papers on Law Office Management, the translator and co-editor of *Life and Adventure in California of Augustin Janssens*, and author of *Way of Life in Early Santa Barbara*.

RICHARD H. DILLON was born in 1924 in Sausalito but is now a resident of Mill Valley. In 1948 he graduated with honors in history from the University of California and received his M.A. and B.L.S. (bachelor of library science) degrees from the same institution. He has served as Sutro Librarian since 1953. Mr. Dillon is the author of two books and some sixty articles and several hundred book reviews. He is a member of the Book Club of California, Phi Beta Kappa, and the California Library Association.

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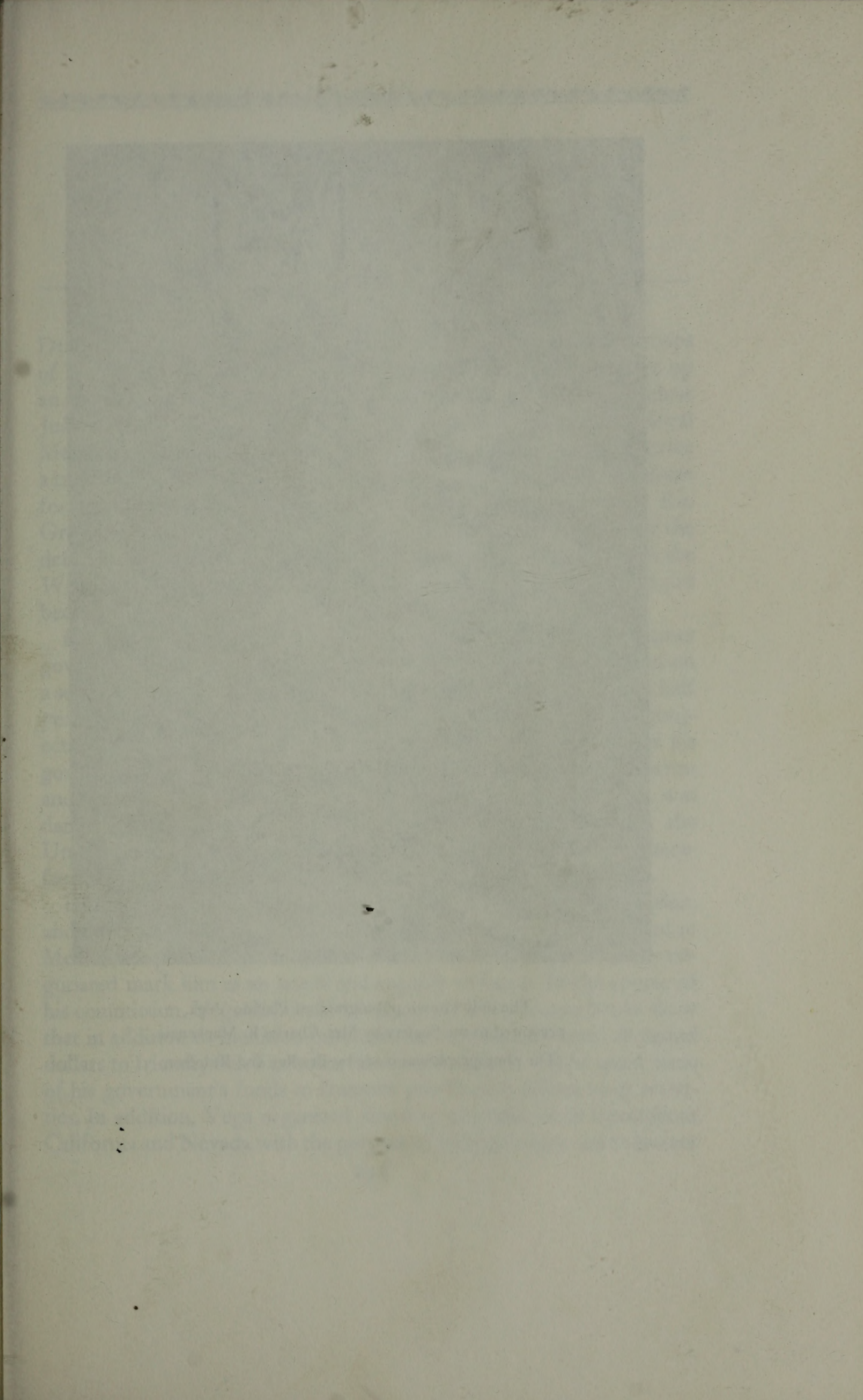
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The only known photograph of Placido Vega,
presented to the Society by Mrs. Charles E. Mackenzie.
The photograph was made by Bradley and Rulofson.

Californians Against the Emperor

By ROBERT RYAL MILLER

DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, Mexico was invaded by the troops of Napoleon III who quickly overran most of the country and set up an empire under Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian. However, President Juárez, moving his capital from place to place and utilizing some loyal Mexican troops, kept up a stubborn resistance which by 1867 became a triumphant offensive. Certainly some of the success of the republican forces was due to moral and physical support from across the Rio Grande. A substantial amount of the arms and munitions utilized by the defending soldiers was shipped from the United States, and when the War of the Rebellion ended, many veterans crossed over to Mexico and became volunteers in the Mexican armed forces.

In 1864 Plácido Vega, a general in the Mexican army and a former governor of the state of Sinaloa, was sent by the Juárez government on a secret mission to San Francisco, California. During his two and a half year stay in California, General Vega was involved in a number of projects, some of them clandestine, related to promoting the cause of his government.¹ The paramount purpose of his trip was to procure arms and articles of war for the constitutional government. This task was dangerous as well as formidable because during the Civil War the United States government prohibited the export of munitions; therefore Vega had to smuggle his purchases of war goods into Mexico.

Besides the thousands of muskets, millions of rounds of ammunition, and other war materiel that General Vega purchased and forwarded to Mexico, his political machinations and the financial transactions he negotiated mark him as an astute and capable emissary. In the course of his commission, Vega disbursed \$619,593.18.² His account books show that in addition to munition purchases he distributed several thousand dollars to friendly San Francisco newspaper editors, and he spent some of his government's funds to frustrate pro-French filibustering activities. In addition, Vega organized *juntas* or patriotic clubs throughout California and Nevada with the purpose of raising money and volunteer

soldiers for the Mexican countermarch. Details of the contribution made by the Mexican Clubs can be seen in the reports to General Vega from club officers in Virginia City, Nevada Territory; and Hornitos, Marysville, Greenwood, Los Angeles, La Porte, West Point, New Almaden, Sonora, Lancha Plana, San Pablo, San Juan Bautista, Pinole, Sacramento, San Francisco, and Martinez, California.³

One of the most interesting episodes of General Vega's confidential assignment was his organization of a group of over four hundred Californians who were armed and put aboard two ships destined for Mexico. The mobilization went by two names: the Arizona Exploring Expedition and the American Brigade. A dichotomous designation was necessary in order to circumvent the laws regarding neutrality and emigration. Vega's recruiting appeals were always couched in civilian terms, that is they were phrased as invitations to emigrants or colonists. The Mexican agent would not admit that he was seeking soldiers; he called them armed colonists. Since there were warlike Indians in Mexico and the United States at that time, colonists had good reason to travel under arms. However, in spite of the justifications and the terminology, the real destination of the Arizona Exploring Expedition was always clear to Vega and to the recruits; they were an expeditionary force bound for the battle lines of Mexico.

All during his stay in San Francisco, the Mexican general received letters from men who wanted to join the Juárez military forces. As might be expected, a great number of the volunteers were Californians of Spanish or Mexican descent. It must be remembered that California was Mexican territory until 1848, and that many communities and ranchos were still predominantly populated by Spanish-speaking people in the 1860's. Furthermore, a residue of Mexicans remained prominent in the social and political life of the state following its severance from Mexico, and General Vega established immediate rapport with these citizens.

The Alviso, Castro, Pacheco, and Vallejo families, counted among the most notable and influential in northern California, sympathized with the Juárez government and gave moral and financial support to General Vega. On one occasion Augustín Alviso, Salvio Pacheco, and Victor Castro loaned Vega \$24,000, and soon thereafter Melitón Alviso, Victor Castro, and Uladislao Vallejo sailed to Mexico in an armed company organized by Vega.⁴ Another Pacheco family, important in the Santa Barbara region, also lent support to Vega. One member, Ro-

mualdo, the treasurer of the state of California, was an especially ardent supporter of the republican government of Mexico, and he arranged several interviews for Vega with Governor Frederick Low and other state officials, as well as personally contributing money for the cause.⁵ General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo corresponded with General Vega, and the two men had several meetings in San Francisco and at Lachryma Montis, the Vallejo estate in Sonoma.⁶ Don Augustín Alviso, who lived in Centerville, communicated with Vega soon after the general's arrival in San Francisco. The tone of his letter expresses the enthusiasm and warm reception given to the Mexican commissioner. Alviso wrote, "From the moment in which you arrived in this State, I have desired to see you and offer you my services with all the sincerity of a patriot . . . business pursuits have not permitted me to do it personally."⁷

Naturally, not all of the Mexicans living in California were of the same persuasion, and a number of them were apathetic about lending assistance to either the Juárez or the Imperial faction. Sarmiento Blanco Villaseñor of Campo del Colorado, Mariposa County, lamented this condition when writing to General Vega. He was full of remorse and shame because his attempts to collect funds and to raise a company of soldiers had utterly failed. According to Blanco Villaseñor, it was as if a plague had scourged the land, for his Mexican neighbors were "heartless, without honor, and lacked love for their native land." He closed his letter with a plea for Vega to expand the propaganda campaign in order to arouse more sympathy and stimulate tangible aid for the republican regime. In a subsequent message, Blanco Villaseñor announced that pride caused him to take up arms for the defense of Mexico.⁸ A scathing denunciation of her fellow Mexicans was pronounced by a woman, Dolores Aros of Jackson. In a letter to Vega she said that the indifference and lack of conscience of her compatriots were inexcusable, and she referred to the phlegmatic Mexicans as traitors.⁹

Nevertheless, scores of letters to Vega from men who wanted to go to Mexico and fight continued to flow into his headquarters. Unquestionably some of those who wrote to the Mexican agent were sincere patriots and idealists who wanted to see a republican government restored in that land. Others expressed their hatred of the French violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and they indicated that they were willing to fight for that principle. Many of the volunteers had seen recent service in the War of the Rebellion where they had served one, two, or three year enlistment periods. Some applicants had been discharged due to wounds received in battle; others were still in the United States services

but expected early separation as their terms of enlistment were fulfilled and as the end of the war drew near. When the Civil War finally ended in April, 1865, the volume of letters to General Vega increased tremendously as did the number of men who called on him at his office in Frank's Building on Portsmouth Square.

Many American volunteers requested commissions as officers and other incentives to join the Mexican army. Several applicants offered to raise a company of men, others agreed to furnish their own arms, ammunition, and horses. One volunteer, Edward A. Lever, crossed the entire American continent to make himself available for service in the Mexican army, according to his letter from San Francisco dated November 4, 1864. Lever said that after his arrival in California friends tried to dissuade him from his course; however, "Being in heart and soul a believer in republicanism, I have long sympathized with Mexico and her patriots, therefore I offer myself for any position whereby I might be of service to the sister republic of my own dear native country." In a subsequent letter to General Vega he wrote:

I can raise a company of thoroughbred Americans, many of whom have seen service in the East and have been comrades in arms with myself.

Will you accept a company of good men? Equip them? Commission their officers and furnish them with means of transportation to where you may need them?

If you will do this, all I have to ask is that the company will have a chance to prove what they are against the foreign and domestic hordes that acknowledge the sway of the usurper.

You know the courage, dash and endurance of American soldiers. We will provide for ourselves and for many more besides. Maximilian shall be our quartermaster and commissary. . . . I wish each French soldier was provided with two muskets for then we would be able to take more from them. . . . I have little fear of the French for my countrymen have too often beaten the conquerors of the French to care much for them in a military point of view.¹⁰

Lever had become acquainted with a Captain Pitman who had served in Peru and who directed him to Vega.

A personal interview between General Vega and Lever resulted in a third letter from the latter, in which he declared that the necessity of conversing through an interpreter was the cause of any lack of understanding between them. Lever argued that an all-American military expedition to Mexico was a necessity, and he said that many unemployed men in San Francisco would join such a unit. The other opportunities for energetic, ambitious young men, according to Lever, were to seek

their fortune in the Eastern states, to depart for China, to join the United States Army, or to sign on merchant ships sailing to other ports of the world. He added, "When my country sees that as many of her citizens are enlisted in this cause, interest and national pride will cause her to be more lenient towards your government."¹¹

From Austin, Nevada Territory, a civil engineer, A. D. Rock, wrote to General Vega and estimated that a regiment could be raised if he were so authorized. He questioned the legality and feasibility of such an undertaking upon learning that a similar expedition led by H. A. Crabb had been apprehended by U. S. forces. Consequently, he had written to General Irwin McDowell, commanding officer of the Department of the Pacific, to ascertain whether the United States government would object to armed emigrants leaving the country. He proposed to go directly to Mexico through the Apache Indian country. Rock was originally a Virginian, and in a subsequent letter to Vega he expressed his sympathy for the plight of the Confederate states:

There seems to be an implied understanding between yourself and authorities of the United States that none shall be allowed to go to Mexico except those known to be opposed to the Southern States of our union. . . .

I believe for one that the Southern people, even many who may have been forced or drawn into the Rebellion, are as cordially sympathizing with Mexico in her troubles as are other people, and that they desire to go there for the purpose of acting the part of good citizens without any reference to the late trouble of the United States. . . . I, sir, have been doing all in my power to strengthen the aims of President Juárez in sustaining the true and rightful government; but if any arrangement is made as to what class of men may leave our ports, then indeed I have been working in vain.¹²

Another letter from Nevada Territory was from D. E. Hungerford of Virginia City, a veteran of the Mexican War, Indian campaigns, and a former regimental commander in the Army of the Potomac. Like other applicants, Hungerford requested the authority and inducements to raise an armed company. A postscript to his message said that if joining the Mexican forces entailed compromising the government of the United States, or favoring the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, he could not countenance the movement nor participate in it.¹³

A recommendation from Governor Blasdey of the Territory of Nevada accompanied the letter of introduction for Alvert H. Salesorio, a volunteer for the American Brigade. The applicant had served three years in the Union army as a captain and was highly commended by Donaciano Mazón, president of the Mexican Club of Virginia City.¹⁴

E. P. Baker of Genoa, Carson Valley, Nevada, did not know how to get in touch with General Vega, so he wrote to the postmaster of San Francisco and asked him to forward his letter of inquiry to the Mexican recruiting agent. Vega received the note from Baker in which the latter offered to raise a company of soldiers and asked about the pay and other benefits for such service.¹⁵

A Danish applicant, credited with having a good education, submitted his application through a friend, E. F. Dunne of Star City, Humboldt County, Nevada Territory. The letter pointed out that the volunteer spoke English like a native and was also a German scholar, and added that the Dane was young and would readily serve two or three years in the Mexican army.¹⁶

Meanwhile, in San Francisco General Vega's headquarters was besieged by adventurers. S. G. George, a physician and surgeon, had made several unsuccessful attempts to secure an interview with the Mexican agent, according to his letter from San Francisco dated December 9, 1864. He wanted the usual information about pay and bonuses for military service with the republican forces.¹⁷ On the same day and in the same city, two veterans of the Union army, William H. Tuttle and C. W. Harris wrote to Vega and requested an interview for the following morning.¹⁸ James Armstrong, a prospective emigrant, arrived at Vega's office with a letter of introduction from A. J. Bryant, president of the Union Club of San Francisco. In the words of Bryant his candidate was well qualified, for besides being a veteran of the U. S. Army, "whose service he only left when dangerously wounded," Armstrong was a capable politician, having served in the recent successful Republican presidential campaign.¹⁹ Vega, by the way, was a vice-president of the Union Club, and he contributed considerable time and money to Lincoln's re-election campaign of 1864.

Bearing the return address of the Wells Fargo Express Company, San Francisco, a note from Charles Cornbloom followed the pattern of other applicants. He proposed to raise a company of one hundred men provided Vega would guarantee to liquidate the consequent expenses when the group was fully organized.²⁰

A few letters were from men who had held ranks of major or colonel in the Union army and who wanted to raise and lead a company or regiment. One such volunteer was W. H. Lewis of San Francisco, who wrote, "I desire a chance to go to Mexico in your service. I have been a commander of a Regiment in the U. S. Service and ranked as a major. If I can be of any service in your cause, I am at your service."²¹

Francisco Warner of San Francisco had contacted General Vega and received a commission as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Mexican army. However, his pay was not forthcoming, and after four weeks of receiving the *mañana* response from Ramón de Zaldo, one of Vega's assistants, Warner wrote the Mexican commissioner:

If it was not convenient for you to let me have the money I would have been far better satisfied had you told me. But if you wish to redeem your promise you can do so by sending the money to the fruit store cor. Dupont and Sutter Sts. this week or I shall be obliged to accept aid from another source. I can serve the Imperial party and they know it or they would not have offered me money to join them. . . .²²

An immediate departure from the United States was requested in another note to Vega; the writer asked to be enrolled in the Mexican forces and booked for passage to Mexico on the return voyage of the steamship *John L. Stephens*. This applicant, P. F. Brown of San Francisco, added that he was a friend of liberty and republican institutions and wanted to help the Mexicans drive the invaders from their country.²³

From Vallejo, E. M. Baylies wrote that a number of young men of that city had authorized him to inquire about incentives for volunteers to Mexico and facilities for their transportation. He said the men wished to know the "necessary proceedings to place themselves under the protection of the Mexican flag."²⁴

R. F. Greeley, a journalist employed by the San Francisco daily newspaper *American Flag*, was convinced that the Juárez government soon would be in full control of Mexico. In a letter to Vega he mentioned that he had "fought many newspaper battles for Juárez," and asked for a position in one of the contemplated expeditions.²⁵

Two Spanish language newspapers of San Francisco, *La Voz de México* and *El Nuevo Mundo*, the latter set up and sustained by funds provided by General Vega, published the official statements of the Juárez government and the inducements offered to emigrant soldiers. The editors, Pedro Mancillas and José María Vigil, respectively, forwarded to Vega the inquiries they received from prospective soldiers. One such message was from Francisco Catalán of Sutter Creek who requested information for himself and three friends about an announced force of Americans headed for Mexico overland through Arizona Territory.²⁶ Twenty-five or thirty reprints of articles in *La Voz de México* and some pamphlets in English outlining the pay and bonus schedule

for volunteer soldiers were requested by A. L. Cervantes of San Luis Obispo. He promised that the printed matter would be widely circulated in that area.²⁷

Some men who were then serving in the United States armed forces were interested in the opportunities for soldiering in Mexico. Captain H. C. Flynn, who addressed several letters to Vega, spoke for himself and ten or twelve others with military qualifications who were eager to join the Mexican army. In his letters from San Francisco he inquired about the incentives promised to U. S. officers who would go to Mexico. Flynn stated that he disavowed the infamous term adventure; he and his friends wanted to serve the cause of an independent Mexico. In one letter Flynn also offered to furnish a bodyguard to the Mexican general.²⁸

Marked confidential, one letter came from the Presidio of San Francisco, and the writer, Lieutenant Montgomery Maze, Second Infantry Regiment, California Volunteers, designated himself a soldier of fortune eager to participate in the Mexican conflict.²⁹ An assistant surgeon in the same regiment, F. M. Cassill, asked about inducements for medical men who wanted to go to Mexico. He added, "I have always had a lively interest in the fate of our sister republic ever since the Frenchman's foot first polluted her soil."³⁰

From other military posts in the San Francisco area messages were forwarded to Vega. Thomas Fellows, Company A, Sixth Infantry, stationed on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, wrote for himself and several comrades. These men had been real soldiers of fortune; their military commitments had taken them to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and New Granada. Four months remained of their enlistment term, and they wished no idleness at its conclusion.³¹ James B. Plunket of the United States Navy, Second Aft Engineer aboard the ironclad *U.S.S. Comanche*, wrote to the Mexican emissary from Mare Island Navy Yard. Plunket had previously served two years as a captain of infantry volunteers in the Army of the Potomac. He said that, "as the war is virtually ended, and my services will not be required much longer, it is my desire to resign and enter the Mexican Army."³²

Mining camps in the Sierra Nevada of California proved to be a fertile source of manpower for the projected expeditions to Mexico. The Mexican Clubs organized by Vega were centers for the dissemination of information and in some places coordinated the recruitment and training of volunteers. In Jackson, Amador County, Juan de la Fuente

distributed propaganda leaflets and posted newspaper editorials throughout the region. And in nearby San Andreas a Mexican, Joaquín Miranda Viña, noted that he had read some of the newspaper articles himself and to several friends, and they desired to join one of the expeditions bound for Mexico. A fortnight later he wrote that three men, Precipiano Morillo, Frederico Robinson, and Cuaristo Nuñez, were ready to depart for San Francisco. Certain that his letter would reach General Vega before the men, he warned that they would arrive financially destitute and wanted the general to be prepared.³³ A different form of voluntary aid was tendered by two Grass Valley men. George B. Shearer and Charles J. Miller wrote, "We are both practical printers and desire to assist you in your endeavors to drive from your dearly beloved country your deadly enemy." They offered to help the republican cause by means of the written and printed word, and also inquired about the need for printers on Mexico's west coast.³⁴

The quicksilver mining district around New Almaden had a large Mexican population, and a number of letters to General Vega were posted from that city. Gregorio López, who worked in the mines, was a native of Sinaloa, and he volunteered to return to his besieged homeland in one of the expeditions being formed. López offered to serve as a guide and pack-train muleteer. Avowing that "literacy and patriotism are not inseparable companions," he had a friend, Crecencio Avalos, write his letter to Vega.³⁵ An officer in the Mexican Club of New Almaden, Romualdo Velásquez, wrote a letter of introduction for a Chilean volunteer, Señor Villalon. Velásquez pointed out that his Chilean candidate was known by Señor Sepulveda, an acquaintance of Vega. Another letter of introduction to Vega was presented by Eduardo Segura. The writer was Jesús Herrera of New Almaden, and the note contained the usual laudatory commendation.³⁶

Juan Días, who lived in San José, reported that after he had volunteered to go to Mexico, he "encountered some family difficulties." He suggested that all would be well if Vega would allow Señora Días to accompany the expedition.³⁷ And from Marysville, Vega heard that a native California infantry company had been raised with the ultimate objective of aiding Juárez. The correspondent requested a Spanish book on military tactics so that his contingent could be adequately prepared. The letter was signed by José Buentello Elizando and included the name of Dr. Lorenzo Hubbard, to whom the requested volume was to be sent.³⁸

General Vega did not limit his activities to signing up the many American volunteers; he actively recruited men and advertised the inducements offered by his government to soldier colonists. President Juárez, pushed out of central Mexico by the French armies, issued several decrees that promised bounties to foreigners who would come to Mexico and fight against the invaders. These edicts dovetailed with Vega's plans for an American expeditionary force; thus he had the provisions published in all the important California newspapers.

The law of August 11, 1864, proclaimed at Monterrey, granted a bounty of land to all aliens who would join the Juárez militia. This land bonus was in addition to the regular military pay and amounted to land valued at \$1,000 for all private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, \$1,500 for all officers from sub-lieutenant to captain, and \$2,000 for field grade officers. The veteran could choose the location of the grant, and the valuation was to be determined by the assessment at the time of the granting. In addition, the land and any improvements made upon it were exempt from all taxation for five years. Another provision stated that as soon as fifty persons were resident on these lands they could form a township with the privilege of electing their own municipal authorities.³⁹

The lands from which these bounties were granted included all lands considered as national property, all government unappropriated lands, and the confiscated lands of all those guilty of treason. According to a law promulgated a year earlier, a great many Mexicans were classified as traitors and their lands were to be confiscated. The latter decree applied generally to those who had aided the French troops and to those who held offices, with or without salary, in the administration of the intervention forces. It also included those who received titles or decorations from the French government as well as those who by their writings defended the intervention.⁴⁰

Thus the Juárez government had ample lands to give away, provided of course that they won the war and regained actual control of the country. The constitutional government also offered full Mexican citizenship to the foreign volunteers, and it promised special recompense to those who performed distinguished services.

In addition to having these laws published in California newspapers, General Vega distributed a pamphlet that outlined the opportunities for American emigrants to Mexico. The booklet, *Decrees of the Mexican Constitutional Government Inviting American Emigrants to Settle in the Republic*, which was circulated throughout California and Nevada,

was a propaganda masterpiece. A few of the statements in it about the wonders of Mexico and the advantages of settling there are worth noting:

Mexico is the finest country in the world. There a person may enjoy every kind of temperature that he may desire. . . .

There is abundance of water to irrigate the soil. . . .

Mexico only needs peace to be able to afford the means of enjoying all the luxuries of a happy life.

In conclusion, this fine country offers such advantages to the industrious and persevering settler that, in a short period of time he could not fail to acquire a more comfortable and easy homestead than can be had in any other part of the world with the same amount of labor.⁴¹

The pamphlet also explained the Mexican division of lands into *sitios*, *caballerías*, *detierras*, *suertes*, and *fanegas*, and gave the equivalent in acres. The price of land was said to vary from twenty-three cents to seventy dollars per acre, depending on its location.

A table showing the monthly salary paid to Mexican army personnel was also in the booklet, and part of this data is reproduced below. The list indicates that men in cavalry, artillery, and engineer units were generally higher paid than those in the infantry. The figures that follow pertain to the infantry:⁴²

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|--------------------------|---------|
| Major General | \$500.00 | First Captain | \$66.90 |
| Brig. General | 375.00 | Lieutenant | 45.00 |
| Colonel | 205.50 | First Sergeant | 26.40 |
| Lt. Colonel | 137.70 | Corporal | 17.10 |
| Major | 122.40 | Private | 15.00 |

No doubt the material concessions and military opportunities outlined in the pamphlet induced A. A. C. Williams of San Francisco, a former colonel who had served three years as a surgeon in the U. S. forces, to address General Vega and tender his services to Mexico. Williams was in California recovering from a Civil War wound, and he accompanied his letter of April 5, 1865, with documentary evidence of his service and testimonials from Generals Hooker, Rinney, Richardson, Berdan, and Jackson. He qualified his offer of service to Mexico with a statement concerning the commission he would accept:

The rank which I have held in the United States Service during this war, that of Colonel, precludes my accepting even *temporarily* any position with a lower rank. At the same time I would respectfully urge my claims for a commission as a Brigadier General from the President of the Republic of Mexico believing myself fully competent in every respect for the responsibilities incident to that rank.⁴³

General Vega was quite impressed with Williams, and within a week he commissioned him a colonel in the Mexican national guard. At the same time he forwarded the request of Colonel Williams for a general's rank to the Mexican government. About a month later Vega promoted Williams to brigadier general in the Mexican army.⁴⁴

During March, April, and May of 1865, Vega made plans to send two large expeditions of armed colonists to Mexico. He rented an office at 127 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, as an enlistment center for soldier-colonists, and in April he put Williams in charge. Vega spent these months locating men, munitions, and money. He wrote to many of the men who had applied earlier and told them of the plans for the American Brigade, sending along some of the emigration pamphlets. Recruits were even solicited among California prisoners who were serving short sentences. Vega sent a package of propaganda leaflets with a letter to San Quentin prisoner Ernest C. Roland, and asked that the printed matter be circulated among the "loyal and enthusiastic defenders of our sacred cause."⁴⁵

Through the Mexican Clubs General Vega had contacts in a number of California cities to whom letters and telegrams were dispatched urging volunteers to organize and proceed to San Francisco. The men were to sail in two components, the first on May 13 and the second twelve days later. From Marysville, Sacramento, Vallejo, San Jose, Petaluma, and other cities came favorable replies.

Romualdo Velásquez promised eighty to one hundred men from New Almaden, twenty-five of whom could be mustered in two hours. Within a week an infantry company under Jesús Herrera and another led by Pedro Hizaliturri were ready to depart from New Almaden. One member of the group, J. E. Ochoa, wrote to Vega and accepted the commission offered him in the liberating forces. Two other men, Francisco Salmon and Attilano Hernández, wrote that they would not be able to go as planned because the financial remuneration was not sufficient to support their large families during their absence. As a complimentary gesture of respect, the citizens of New Almaden gave General Vega a shotgun and a pistol.⁴⁶

A letter from Virginia City, Nevada Territory, stated that insufficient funds for transportation was all that hindered a group of two hundred volunteers from coming to San Francisco. The writer, Donaciano Mazón, told of the enthusiastic pro-Mexican support in that area.⁴⁷ Juan de la Fuente of Jackson, California, announced that an emigrant

party was ready to depart for Mexico. He reported that the group was composed of Chileans, Mexicans, and other Spanish Americans, and the men were from Jackson, Sutter Creek, Dry Town, Fiddletown, and Volcano. The correspondent regretted that he could not join the patriotic band and gave as his excuse, "extreme poverty plus an old father and mother and six little brothers and sisters."⁴⁸

Specific details concerning the embarkation of the troops were forwarded to the detachment leaders by letter, telegram, and messenger. Several Sonoma volunteers, including one of General Vallejo's sons, Uladislao, were notified of the embarkation plans. Francisco Ramonet of Sacramento was ordered to bring his men to the port, and State Treasurer Pacheco reported from the capital, "The Americans are going to you in a group, for their security. There is not an hour to lose. Let me know the time of sailing. Probably tomorrow I shall come down to the city."⁴⁹

One of the officers of the Arizona Exploring Expedition, W. H. Lewis, was informed that he could go as a major with the first contingent; although Vega preferred that he should go with the second battalion as a colonel. Lewis, who was in San Francisco, replied by note, "General, I am willing to do as you think best, but my heart is with your cause and I am anxious to go."⁵⁰

Meanwhile, General Vega was trying to raise money for the venture. He had certain funds derived from the customhouse receipts at Mazatlán and Guaymas as well as credits in San Francisco with import-export firms. But because there was not enough ready cash, Vega pawned jewelry belonging to members of his family for \$3,200 in gold coin. A wealthy Californian, Don Vicente Ortiz, advanced the money, and the jewels, valued at over \$4,000, were to guarantee the loan, which carried an interest rate of two per cent per month. An invoice of the precious stones, dated March 19, 1865, contains some twenty-six items including a lady's comb with 24 diamonds and an amethyst, a gold ring with 13 diamonds and 7 opals, a pair of gold earrings with 22 diamonds, and a pair of gold buttons with 22 pearls.⁵¹

General Vega turned over to General Williams \$4,060 for the organization and outfitting of the American Brigade; and another of Vega's agents, Juan Argos, spent \$3,573.98 for supplies to be used by the expedition. The itemized expenses of these functionaries contain the following articles: canteens, mess kits, cloth for flags, lamps, iron pots, bacon, sugar, gunpowder, and one cannon.⁵² The receipts show

that some of the munitions were purchased from A. J. Plate, a San Francisco gunsmith.

General Williams received an extensive set of military orders and instructions as well as letters of introduction to President Juárez and the members of his cabinet. Vega, also, furnished the commander of the American Brigade with credentials which he could present to the various Mexican state governors and military commandants along the route. His official orders read:

In virtue of the powers and authority which the supreme government of the Constitutional Republic of Mexico has conferred on me, I give you full and ample powers in order that the number of colonists that will go from the U. S. to Mexico will be able to establish themselves at a place where they can better take advantage of the resources and elements. You will augment the number as much as possible, maintaining resolutely the best order, discipline, and organization. You can in virtue of this power dispose of whatever interests, public or private, that may be necessary for the expedition in Mexican territory, giving the respective receipts to the interested and keeping the accountability required in these cases.

Also I authorize you to solicit in the U. S. loans, food, effects, and as many articles as you need for the circumstances. . . .⁵³

Finally, in May of 1865, about 400 colonists were ready to sail in two groups. The sailing ship *Brontes* was engaged, and payment of \$1,255 was advanced to its master. Just as the first group was about to put to sea on May 20, a U. S. Coast Guard ship, the *Shubrick*, anchored alongside and the *Brontes* was given an order prohibiting its sailing.

The trouble seemed to be that the U. S. Customs office in San Francisco objected to the munitions aboard the ship being sent to Mexico. It was true that during the Civil War President Lincoln had ordered that no arms or munitions were to be exported from the country. However, after the war, on May 3, 1865, President Johnson revoked the order, and on May 15 the military headquarters, Department of the Pacific, published General Orders No. 37 which acknowledged the free export of arms. Actually, General Williams had an order from the quartermaster general of the Department of the Pacific stating that he could leave with armed men.⁵⁴ But the U. S. Treasury agents, the Port Collector of Customs, and the Coast Guard had not received official word of the lifting of the arms embargo, and they held up the expedition.

The French Consul in San Francisco, Charles de Cazotte, had more than a little to do with this surveillance and detention of the *Brontes*.

Naturally he was interested in preventing aid reaching the Juárez forces, the latter being engaged in war against French troops in Mexico. Cazotte's complicity in the *Brontes* affair is borne out in his dispatches to the French Foreign Office and corroborated by contemporary newspaper accounts. Cazotte took credit for initiating the detaining action when he telegraphed the Foreign Ministry in Paris, "UPON MY DEMAND, VESSEL *BRONTES*, HAVING ON BOARD 400 MILITARY RECRUITS AND LARGE ARMAMENT FOR MEXICO, WAS STOPPED BY THE AUTHORITIES."⁵⁵

A more detailed account of the French Consul's intervention is available in the San Francisco *Daily Call* for May 23, 1865. There one reads that on May 20 Cazotte called on Mr. Phillips, the deputy port collector (Collector Charles James being out of the city), and protested the sailing of the *Brontes*. Phillips is reported to have said, "I can't see the point of your interference. This is a matter between the government of the U. S. and Maximilian. Neither the English or Dutch consul have been here to protest . . . and I can't see that you, as consul for France are any more concerned." The article adds that having no success with Mr. Phillips, Cazotte then went to see Mr. Burke, Special Deputy Collector, from whom he obtained an order to have the vessels *Brontes* and *Pontiac* detained pending advice from the Treasury Department in Washington.

In addition to being a deputy in the Port Collector's office, Edmund Burke was Chief of Police of San Francisco, and was also a secret agent in the pay of the French government. In a letter to the French Foreign Office dated April 6, 1864, Cazotte remarked, "The only way for me to succeed is to give money to certain agents, especially Chief of Police Burke who appears devoted to us." Subsequently Cazotte reported, "Today I paid Chief of Police Burke \$200 (1,000 francs). Burke asked me to thank Your Excellency."⁵⁶ General Vega was well aware of the harassing activities of Consul Cazotte. As early as October, 1863, one of Vega's agents in San Francisco, Felipe Arellano, reported, "The French Consul is very astute, he has a secret police." In a letter to Matías Romero, Mexican Minister in Washington, Vega acknowledged the counteraction of the French Consul by saying, "One sees that the hand and gold of France and her petty officers are the cause of all these troubles."⁵⁷

This was just the beginning of misadventure that was to curse the

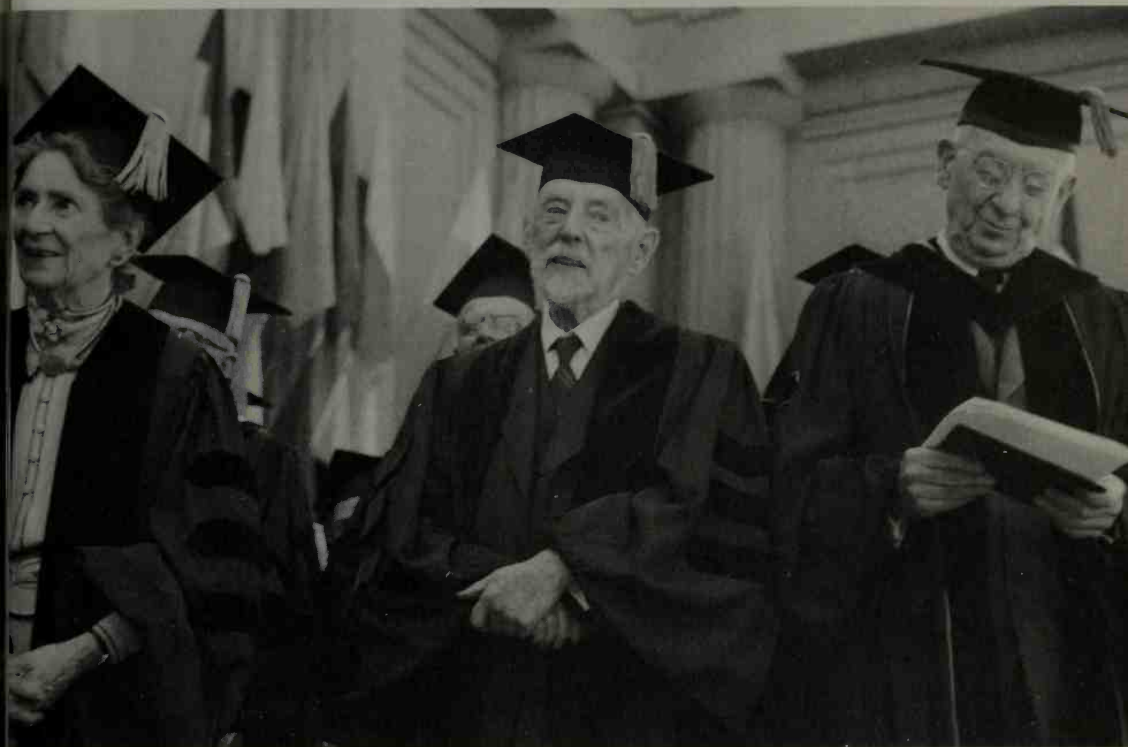
expedition for the next two months. In fact, ill fortune and adverse events were of such intensity that the American Brigade never did sail from San Francisco, and some of the men, including General Williams, spent a number of days in jail on charges ranging from violation of the neutrality laws to piracy.

After the customs officials enforced their arms embargo, the munitions were removed and permission was asked for the emigrants to sail unarmed. This was not approved, and about 200 members of the detachment returned to their homes and approximately 150 remained on board the *Brontes*, determined to emigrate if permitted. Amid all this confusion, General Williams and some of the other leaders of the expedition were arrested at one o'clock in the morning of May 24 on the charge of violating the neutrality laws. They were later released on bail, but not until June 14 were they acquitted of this charge.⁵⁸

In the meantime, new trouble beset Williams and twenty-one other members of the brigade. On May 25 they were arrested, jailed, and charged with conspiring to steal, take, and carry away a steamboat, the *Colon*, in the harbor of San Francisco. This vessel was under the Peruvian flag and valued at \$40,000. The complaint stated that after the revenue ship *Shubrick* was ordered to watch the movements of the *Brontes*, a plan was formed to capture the *Colon*, take her behind Angel Island and slip out the Golden Gate in the early hours of the morning. The *Alta California* for May 26, 1865, commented that, "The *Colon* was not coaled for a voyage, and the whole scheme — if such was formed — smacks of lunacy." Regardless of the opinion of editors about the case, the accused members of the American Brigade found themselves in jail and awaiting trial. A few of the men, including General Williams, Colonel Daniel E. Hungerford, and Lieutenant W. W. Bruce, were released on bail of \$2,000 each.⁵⁹ One of the prisoners submitted the following epic poem, published in the *Alta California*, June 2, 1865:

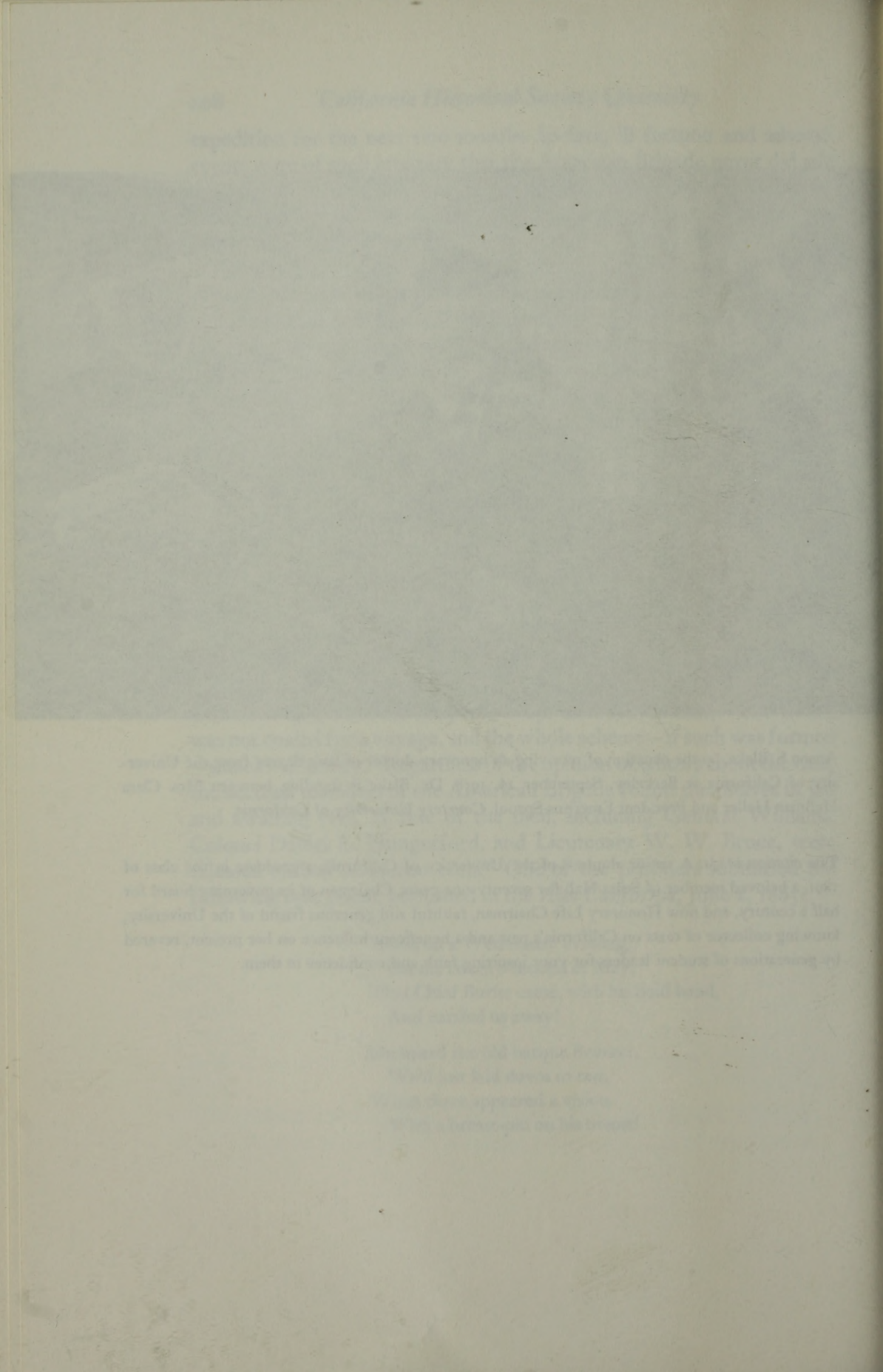
'Twas on a Wednesday evening,
On the twenty-second of May,
That Chief Burke came, with his bold band,
And carried us away!

On board the old barque *Brontes*,
We'd just laid down to rest,
When there appeared a vision
With a breast-pin on his breast!



Anson S. Blake, on the occasion of receiving an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University of California at Berkeley, September 26, 1958. Dr. Blake is standing between Mrs. Clara Hellman Heller and President Emeritus Sproul. *Courtesy University of California.*

The citation reads: A senior alumnus of the University of California, a graduate in the class of 1891, a beloved member of Stiles Hall for seventy-one years, Chairman of its governing board for half a century, and now Honorary Life Chairman, faithful and generous friend of the University, knowing collector of texts on California's past and a beneficent influence on her present, revered by generations of student leaders for your inspiring faith and confidence in them.



He invited us to go on deck,
Which we, of course, *did* do;
When, from among our number,
Chief Burke picked twenty-two!

He called us "Williams' Pirates,"
Which we thought mighty tall;
Then formed us into column
And marched to City Hall!

With dignity commanding,
Chief Burke did us then tell,
That *ten* from out our number
He'd furnish with a cell!

We soon will have our trial,
We feel that we'll be free!
We GLORY in our NOBLE cause—
The fight for LIBERTY!!!!

We've ONE, at least, among our band,
That's done HIS DUTY WELL;
He's battled for his Country's Flag,
But *now lies in a cell!!*

Is this the gratitude he gets?
Oh! no! it cannot be!
The Soldier of America
Shall ever yet be FREE!!!

BRONTES PRISONER, Cell No. 5

The *Brontes-Colon* affair came to trial in San Francisco's police court on June 5, 1865. The defense attorney, Judge Campbell, called no witnesses; instead he attacked the testimony of the prosecution deponents, and he claimed that they had failed to make out a case against the accused men. He contended that the plot, if indeed there was one, was of such a whimsical and quixotic character that it was utterly impracticable and could never have been carried out.

The facts of the case, according to Campbell, were simply that the emigrants, "enraged and disappointed at the detention of their vessel and the frustration of their expedition, through what he privately considered the officious interference of certain officials, had met together and talked wildly and at random about seizing the *Colon*. . . ." He pointed

out that the defendants had no provisions, no cannon, and had not even provided themselves with a boat with which to board the Peruvian ship. The lawyer added that the idea was preposterous that the indicted men could board the steamer and take her out of the harbor against a headwind, past the guns of the *Shubrick*, Fort Point, Alcatraz, Black Point, and Angel Island, especially since the *Colon* had not taken on any coal. The judge of the case said he was inclined to agree that the conspiracy could not have been carried out successfully, but he thought that the matter should be investigated by a higher court. Therefore he held Williams, Col. Daniel E. Hungerford, Lt. W. W. Bruce, William Burns, Louis de la Nord, J. E. Clark, John Thomas, Titus Reynolds, Sherman, and Ewald for trial at the county court on the charge of conspiracy to commit grand larceny, and fixed their bail at \$2,000 each.⁶⁰

The second trial, about a month later, resulted in the acquittal of the alleged pirates. It took the jury only a couple of minutes to bring in the verdict, according to a newspaper account of the proceedings. The *Daily Call*, in commenting on the end of the farce, lamented the expense incurred by the city in trying the guiltless men, and suggested that the San Francisco police were willing instruments of Napoleon's agents. The editor was more profound when he noted that "the object of the prime movers in the scheme, the French agents, has succeeded. They have accomplished their ends by breaking up the expedition which was about to sail to the aid of the Liberals in Mexico."⁶¹

In spite of the months of planning, energetic and productive recruiting of volunteers, and the expenditure of over ten thousand dollars, the American Brigade, also known as the Arizona Exploring Expedition, was a complete fiasco. During the two months of litigation and countermanning orders by various departments of the United States government, most of the colonists became disillusioned and quit the expedition. In addition, Generals Vega and Williams were at odds due to the piracy scandal. Vega did manage to salvage the arms and war stores that had been acquired for the campaign, and he later sent them to the Juárez forces in Mexico.

After all the troubles with the *Brontes* group, Vega still hoped to send an armed corps to his native land. A year passed before the plans materialized, but in July, 1866, another expedition got under way. This time Vega and the Californians had no difficulties with the customs or military authorities, and they sailed from San Francisco aboard the bark *Keoka* and the brig *Josephine*. Many of the volunteers were "vet-

erans" of the abortive American Brigade; for example, Colonels Daniel E. Hungerford and Edward A. Lever, Captain Uladislao Vallejo, John Ewald, James Clark, and Juan Argos.⁶²

The comic opera guise of Vega's foreign legion continued long after the men and supplies had arrived safely in Mexico. No sooner had the troops debarked in Sonora than they were surrounded by a large military detachment of the Juárez faction. The military commandant of the region was ignorant of Vega's secret commission, and he suspected that the expeditionary force might be destined to aid the Imperial cause. When General Vega presented his official orders from the republican government, he and his group were allowed to pass to the interior.

Later when Vega and the Californians reached the temporary capital, Chihuahua City, the general was accused of misappropriation of funds during his California residence. Not having his receipts and account books at hand Vega could not render a full report at that time. A few months later General Vega published a booklet, *Da Cuenta al Gobierno de la República Mexicana sobre la Comisión que le fué conferida al Exterior*, in which he itemized his California expenditures and receipts. With this public statement, copies of which he sent to various officials, Vega felt exonerated from the above-mentioned accusation. However, the cabinet of the constitutional government wanted a detailed and personal report, and they ordered Vega to appear before them to present his account. General Vega never did report as requested, consequently he was out of favor with the Mexican government during the rest of his life.⁶³

The loans made to the Mexican government by Californians were also a subject of prolonged controversy. Some of the creditors received Mexican land in repayment for their wartime loans; but often, as in the case of Sam Brannan, the granted land was occupied by Indians who refused to leave their ancestral homes.⁶⁴ One California family carried on litigation with the Mexican government until 1910 trying to collect a debt contracted by General Vega almost half a century earlier.

But in spite of the troubles Vega had in accounting to his superiors, and regardless of the repayment of loans he negotiated, his expediting of supplies and soldiers from California were a vital factor contributing to the success of the Mexican republican forces in their struggle against the Empire. The 8,000 rifles Vega sent to Porfirio Díaz of Oaxaca and the 24,000 muskets he forwarded to Juan Alvarez of Guerrero enabled these patriots to reorganize their armies and liberate their regions from

the French yoke. As for the human resources supplied by General Vega, it is difficult to evaluate their military contribution to the victory of the liberal forces. The volunteers were few compared to the opposing French army of 30,000 under Marshal Bazaine or the hordes of Imperial Mexicans under Márquez and Miramón. But the psychological value of soldiers from the United States fighting alongside the Mexicans had an incalculable influence on the outcome of the struggle. The moral advantage that the Juárez government possessed because it had the diplomatic recognition of the United States was decidedly reinforced by the presence of hundreds of Californians in the Juárez battalions.

NOTES

1. General Vega's official orders, correspondence, and receipts that document his assignment are in Bancroft Library, Univ. of Calif., and hereafter will be cited as Mex. MS. The letters from Vega refer to draft copies written in San Francisco.
2. *Balance Gral.*, Mex. MS. 337.
3. Mex. MS. 325, ff. 615-695.
4. Mex. MS. 327, ff. 439, 687.
5. Vega to Pacheco, Nov. 21, 1864, Mex. MS. 326, f. 24; Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 7.
6. Vallejo to Vega, Sept. 4, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 496; Mar. 29, 1868, Mex. MS. 327, f. 660.
7. Alviso to Vega, Aug. 17, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, f. 591.
8. Blanco Villaseñor to Vega, Mar. 1, June 6, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, ff. 260, 402.
9. Aros to Vega, Oct. 20, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, f. 655.
10. Lever to Ramón de Zaldo, Mex. MS. 325, f. 818; Lever to Vega, Nov. 15, Nov. 21, 1864, Mex. MS. 326, ff. 18, 25.
11. Lever to Vega, Nov. 21, 1864, Mex. MS. 326, f. 25.
12. Rock to F. F. Gallardo, July 1, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, f. 511; Rock to Vega, May 19, 31, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, ff. 362, 385.
13. Hungerford to Vega, July 16, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, f. 533.
14. Mazón to Vega, May 23, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 376.
15. Baker to Vega, May 21, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 373.
16. Dunne to Vega, Aug. 1, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, f. 562.
17. George to Vega, Mex. MS. 326, f. 107.
18. Harris to Vega, Dec. 9, 1864, Mex. MS. 326, f. 110.
19. Bryant to Vega, May 18, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 361.
20. Cornbloom to Vega, June 9, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 405.

21. Lewis to Vega, May 13, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 345.
22. Warner to Vega, Oct. 25, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, f. 735.
23. Brown to Vega, Oct. 22, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, ff. 727 and following 817.
24. Baylies to Vega, June 1, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 388.
25. Greeley to Vega, June 18, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 413.
26. Catalán to Mancillas, May 14, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 342.
27. Cervantes to Vega, May 20, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 366.
28. Flynn to Vega, June 28, July 10, 1864, Mex. MS. 325, ff. 526, 528.
29. Maze to Vega, May 8, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 336.
30. Cassill to Vega, June 20, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 414.
31. Fellows to Vega, June 2, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 394.
32. Plunket to Vega, June 11, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 407.
33. de la Fuente to Vega, May 21, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 367; Miranda Viña to Vega, May 20, June 5, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, ff. 365, 397.
34. Shearer and Miller to Vega, June 2, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 398.
35. Avalos to Vega, May 14, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 344.
36. Velásquez to Vega, May 24, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 378. Herrera to Vega, June 5, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 396.
37. Días to Vega, June 3, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 395.
38. Elizando to Vega, Mar. 22, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 275.
39. *Decrees of the Mexican Constitutional Government . . .*, Mex. MS. 328, f. 429, pp. 3, 4.
40. Law of August 16, 1863, *Ibid.*, p. 6.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 10. Cf. U. S. Army pay in 1865, ranging from \$16 for privates to \$585 for major generals, Thomas Hamersly, ed., *Complete Regular Army Register . . .*, Washington, 1881, part 2, p. 192.
43. Williams to Vega, April 5, 1865, Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 5.
44. Vega to Williams, April 11, 1865, Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 6.
45. Vega to Roland, May 11, 1865, copy in French Foreign Office Archives, Correspondence Politique des Consuls, Etats Unis, Vol. XXIII, ff. 317, 318, microfilm, Bancroft Library, cited hereafter as FFO/CPC.
46. Velásquez to Vega, May 7, 1865, Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 13; Ochoa to Vega and Salmon to Vega, May 12, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, ff. 337, 339.
47. Mazón to Vega, May 18, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 356.
48. de la Fuente to Vega, May 21, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 367.
49. Vega to Ramonet and Vega to Vallejo, May 10, 1865, Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, ff. 23, 24; Pacheco to Vega, May 16, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 195.
50. Lewis to Vega, May 14, 1865, Mex. MS. 326, f. 341.
51. Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 53.
52. Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, ff. 62, 65.
53. Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 57.

54. Vega to Matías Romero, June 30, 1865, Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 47.
55. Telegram, Cazotte to Drouyn de L'Huys, San Francisco, May 24, 1865, FFO/CPC, Vol. XXIII, f. 269 verso.
56. Cazotte to Drouyn de L'Huys, San Francisco, April 6, July 21, 1864, FFO/CPC, Vol. XIX, ff. 280, 281, 292.
57. Arellano to Vega, Oct. 22, 1863, Mex. MS. 325, f. 107; Vega to Romero, June 30, 1865, Mex. MS. 330, *comprobante* 51, f. 47.
58. San Francisco *Alta California*, May 25, June 15, 1865.
59. *Alta California*, May 26, 1865.
60. *Alta California*, June 7, 1865.
61. San Francisco *Daily Call*, July 16, 1865.
62. Men on the expedition listed in Mex. MS. 327, ff. 438, 439.
63. Plácido Vega, *Da Cuenta al Gobierno de la República Mejicana sobre la Comisión que le fué conferida al Exterior*, Tepic, Mexico, 1867. Reports of Vega's activities, 1867-1878, are in Expediente XI/111/3-1736, National Defense Archives, Mexico City.
64. Paul Bailey, *Sam Brannan and the California Mormons*, Los Angeles, 1943, pp. 133, 134.

A San Francisco Boyhood

1874-1884

I WAS BORN in San Francisco and propose to offer you some of my youthful recollections of scenes and events in that nascent metropolis. My home during those years was my Grandfather's home on the crest of Rincon Hill at its westerly end. The house faced north on a little street then called Vernon Place but now known as Dow Place. The outlook was over the large grounds of General Halleck's house which fronted on Folsom Street opposite the Talbot, Pope and Latham Houses. At the rear of our house was the large place of Mayor Selby and next to it the former home of Pedar Sather, which was then a boarding house, perched on the cliff above Second Street cut, which had only recently been put through Rincon Hill. This was "the banker's ruined castle" noted by Robert Louis Stevenson as the place where he visited Charles Warren Stoddard, who boarded there.

Rincon Hill in those days was an island of Victorian respectability surrounded by an area of flat land then universally known as Tar Flat. I have looked for the name in Professor Gudde's *California Place Names* to ascertain its origin, but his only reference to Tar is "see asphalt." There were no asphalt streets in those days. Such streets as were paved were surfaced with plank or cobbles except for a few heavily travelled stretches which were surfaced with basalt or granite paving blocks. Tar Flat had a number of industrial establishments scattered over it but it was essentially a residence district of wooden houses. I have a picture dated 1872 taken from the roof of my Grandfather's house showing only two structures projecting above the general level, the shot tower in Tar Flat and the Masonic Temple at Post and Montgomery streets where the Crocker Bank now stands. My first recollection of interest in this scene was when I observed the vast walls of the old Palace Hotel rising story after story above the expanse of wooden houses. This I saw, but I did not realize that beyond my line of vision, the business district on California, Pine and Montgomery streets was being metamorphosed as a result of the flood of money coming, in one form or another, from the Comstock lode.

My next contact with the outside world which has left a vivid mental picture was September 9, 1874, when I was four years old. The occasion was the twenty-fourth anniversary of the admission of the State to the Union. It was celebrated by the Society of California Pioneers by an excursion on the Bay. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company had donated the use of their big paddle wheel steamer "Great Republic" for the occasion. My Father, who was a member of the Society, took me along. The steamer was of the pattern of the Pacific Mail Fleet. The whole stern end was occupied by a deck house consisting of a double row of staterooms on each side. The outer ones opened on a rather narrow passage with a netting extending from the outer edge of the boat to a heavy guard rail about five feet above deck level; the inner row opened into a long and rather narrow room, the full length of the deck house. This was the passengers' dining room. When we went aboard we made a quick inspection of the ship and as we came to the stern we had a view of the dining saloon already set for lunch. I was astonished to observe that there were a great many more bottles than dishes on the long table. If I had ever learned to sketch, I could reproduce that scene for you with great accuracy. We were summoned to lunch shortly after we got under way. Following the habit which had already been set for the day by the Society of California Pioneers, food was abundant; wine and liquor flowed even more freely and the meal was capped by a torrent of oratory. All of this kept us within for quite a time. As the company spilled out onto the deck in the most convivial good humor, it was discovered that the Captain was heading the ship out through the Golden Gate. It took only a short time for the rough water outside to reduce the exhilaration of most of the passengers to the depths of misery, my Father among the others. I can remember his standing me against the deck house and saying "Don't you move," while he dashed for the railing. We were just abaft the paddle wheel house. From where I stood I could look down on the great oaken knee that held the support of the outboard bearing of the paddle wheel and ahead of it the green sea water as we rolled toward it and away from it and the red paddles of the wheel churned it into white foam. And that was the last recollection I have of the day's events.

For the year 1875, I have few recollections of the City and its life largely because of two long sessions with infantile diseases with a longer interval between illness when I was laid up by a broken hip. I was one of the early cases in San Francisco where a cast was used. That cast, I

remember very vividly. It was a ponderous affair. I was stretched out and the leg wrapped from the ball of the foot to my hip in two layers of old woolen blanket. The wet plaster was then applied to the blanket in successive layers for the whole distance and was then held in place by old sheeting sewed firmly over it. When it was done, it was too heavy for me to stir and I had to be lifted by someone whenever I moved position in bed. I had to wear it for six weeks and for every minute of that time, my flesh, that was in contact with the old blanket, itched to an unbelievable degree. When I finally recovered from my second illness of the year, the family was glad to get rid of me and sent me to school. It was a private school, kept by Miss Cheever, the sister of H. C. Cheever. She kept house for him and also kept boarders. One of these was Alfred Robinson who wrote "Life in California" which was published in London in 1846. The second story of the Cheever stable was refitted for a school room. Here I met Albert and May Hooper, Daisy and Don Merrill, Sadie and Louis McLane, Porter Garnett, Evelyn Norwood, and Bessie, Leslie and Charley Tilden.

These contacts immediately stirred a sense of community life and intense curiosity as to how the other fellow lived. The first thing my plunge into education brought me was a wild delight over uninhibited license to frequent the public streets, for I had to walk to school along Harrison Street over the Second Street Bridge to Essex Street where the school was located.

This brings me to the year 1876 when I really began to participate in the life of the City and my memories are many. The first vivid one is attending, on Washington's Birthday, the unveiling of the huge plaster bust of Washington which stood in Woodward's Gardens near the entrance gate and to the right of it as you entered. That day was the first that I remember of a long series of visits to the Children's Paradise of our generation. Even the journey out Mission Street in the little balloon horse car was a thrilling adventure. The car needed no turn table. At the end of the line the driver lifted a pin, drove his horses around the car, put the pin in an appropriate place and was prepared to drive home. Of Woodward's Gardens, I can note that it was a well-considered pleasure park for there were attractions for all ages. Years later I first heard Pinafore and the Pirates of Penzance there. That spring I remember a number of drives with my Grandfather in his two-horse buggy through the Panhandle of the Park. At that time, it was the only part of Golden Gate Park that was in use. The rest was only drifting sandhills

and there were no streets laid out or houses in existence beyond the western limit of the Panhandle. A couple of years later John McLaren had reclaimed the sand wastes with the Sudan Grass and bush lupine planting which stabilized the surface sufficiently to allow planting of trees and pushing roads toward the ocean. I also remember driving with my Grandfather out the old Geary Street road to the Cliff House to see the sea lions and then a rapid trot down the beach to Mussel Rock.

It was Centennial Year. In common with the rest of the United States, San Francisco had a series of celebrations centering around July 4th. One of these I remember very well. On July 3rd, there was a parade of naval vessels. My Father took me up to the open hillside that is now the Western Addition. After the ships had steamed past us toward the sea and returned, several dropped anchor below us and began shooting at a target anchored below the Marin Hills opposite. The ships were armed with the big Parrott cast iron guns and we could see the big round solid shot go ricocheting across the water. It is my recollection that no hits on the target were scored. I have a picture of the crowd on the hillside of which we were a part and an enlargement of it was shown in the exhibit of Presidio pictures last year at the Crocker-Anglo National Bank.

Shortly after this, my Grandfather, who had gone east with his wife, died there. My Mother decided to go east to bring her Mother home. She took me on the trip so I was away till about mid-September for we made several visits to relatives and spent a week at the Philadelphia Exposition. After my return, I joined my contemporaries, aligned to the party of their choice in the Presidential campaign then under way. I made my debut in politics by joining the crowd that shouted for Hayes and Wheeler. We were vociferous to the end. But I can remember no further interest in politics until the campaign for the adoption of the new state constitution. Following my elders, I was violently opposed to adoption. As far as I can remember, all my schoolmates were too. I remember our delighted celebration when San Francisco's vote against adoption was announced notwithstanding support of the Workingman's Party for the new constitution. In a few days, the country's returns reduced us to despair. My regret over the outcome has continued to this day.

But this is getting ahead of my calendar. As I have said, 1876 brought me freedom to roam the streets. It was toward the end of the era of wildest speculation on the Comstock. There was hardly an individual

who was not gambling. The market was stimulated by legitimate and illegitimate pressures. The Consolidated California and Virginia Mine was paying a million dollars a month in dividends. There were a dozen more mines that had, or had had bonanza ores. The lode was only partially explored. Why should there not be more? During Stock Board hours, hardly anyone on the street walked; the rest ran. If they checked themselves to greet a friend, hands were plunged deep in trousers pockets and the universal salutation was "How's Stocks?" Perhaps an answer was awaited, but a faster gait to make up for the lost interval was usual. My boyhood friends and I delighted to visit this area of supercharged atmosphere to participate in its thrills and we adopted the salutation as soon as we acquired trouser pockets.

Almost as thrilling as Pine Street were San Francisco wharves. In the '70s only the Pacific Mail dock had a shed and gates. All the others were open planked structures with berths for ships on each side. You could wander at will among the piles of cargo that had been unloaded and sometimes sneak aboard a vessel, if no ship's officer was around, for the sailors were almost always friendly. We learned early that the repair crews of the port treated their jobs informally. Missing deck planks were not always replaced. If you held your chin too high a step might land you in the bay. Two types of ships produced the most interesting cargoes, the sugar boats from Hawaii and the traders to the South Seas and the East Indies. All of these were windjammers.

Sugar refining had not developed to the present stage of perfection. The molasses came in little wooden barrels. In those days molasses was not the doctored residuum that you now buy in bottles. It was a syrupy fluid that embraced a concentration of all the delights that you obtained in chewing the pith of the sugar cane. When a sling load of these barrels was dropped too hard on the wharf, the barrels sometimes sprung at the seams. With the aid of a straw from a nearby bale of hay, you could fill yourself with the sweet-sour nectar to the limit of your capacity. No child of today who buys a coca-cola, ice cream soda or banana split has a treat comparable with our free ride at the public's expense.

The South Seas and East Indies trading schooners have disappeared from San Francisco Bay as completely as has the San Francisco scow schooner which was the pioneer means of transportation to all the shallow water landings about the Bay. In my youth, hundreds of these craft dotted the bay but their cargoes did not hold any interest for us. The traders, however, offered eye-opening glimpses of how the inhabi-

tants of these remote regions lived and what they had to work with. The crews were largely Hawaiians, South Sea Islanders and Lascars. They in turn were equally interested in how the uncivilized inhabitants of California, represented by ourselves, lived and behaved. This mutual interest enabled us to examine the curiosities in the cargoes and taste the edible portions and view the menageries of live pets that many sailors had. Sinbad the Sailor had nothing on us in this field of exploration and adventure.

In order to give you something of a background of our life in San Francisco during 1877, I will quote from John S. Hittell's summary of that year's events in his *History of San Francisco*:

"A great depression of business, resulting from a severe drought, and a fear that the rich deposit of ore in the Consolidated Virginia and California mines would soon be exhausted, the organization of the workingman's political party, were among the most notable events of 1877. The scantiness of the rainfall of 1876-77, the amount being less than ten inches at San Francisco, and less than that of any other season within a quarter of a century, caused a general failure of the grain crop, a large mortality in the herds of cattle, and a serious decline in the yield of the placer mines. The direct pecuniary loss to the state by the drought was estimated at twenty million dollars. The southern part of the state was especially depressed, notwithstanding the completion of the railroad connection between San Francisco and Los Angeles in September, 1876, and the extension of the road to the Colorado River in the April following. . . ."

When we remember that the eastern United States had been in a depression since 1873, the suddenness of its advent in San Francisco is more understandable. In any event, Pine Street and vicinity, even with its new Mining Exchange, lost its interest for us, when its excitement dropped. Although there were sporadic short revivals for several years we had become sophisticated and did not respond as of yore.

As a substitute for walks to Pine Street, we began to explore the outlying edges of San Francisco. A favorite excursion was an all-day trip. We took the Mission Street horsecar to what was then known as Bernal Heights. This was the first abrupt rise of ground below Twin Peaks. There were only one or two streets along this slope above Mission Street. Beyond that, there was the unfenced grassy slope that stretched to the peaks. In the spring, the grass was dotted with innumerable wild flowers. There are left only a few spots in Marin County

where you can see a comparable display to those we thoughtlessly trampled underfoot. The climb to the summit was quite a walk but the unrestricted view was rewarding as it is today. But its composition was very different. To the west you now look down on almost solid city. In our day, the Valley was almost unoccupied. The Alms House lay almost exactly below us and the rest of the Valley held perhaps a half dozen houses. We usually went down to the Alms House tearing pell mell over the flower-strewn grass. When we went as far as this it was an all day excursion and we ate our lunch near the Alms House where we could get water. The return trip was often made by an alternate route.

This year was the beginning of the Dennis Kearney, Dr. O'Donnell, "The Chinese Must Go" era which persisted for several years. It may be said that the impact came in July 1877. The economic conditions indicated in the above quotations produced a large body of unemployed who were restless and worried and became ready listeners to any speaker who claimed to champion their cause.

In July, news came of the great labor, socialistic and railroad riots in the eastern states. There was an immediate reaction in San Francisco and the first object of attack was the Chinese. A Chinese laundry was burned and several others sacked on July 23rd. The rioters following this became defiant and threatened to drive out all Asiatics, by fire if necessary. The San Francisco police force was only about one hundred and fifty men, entirely inadequate to meet the situation. So on the following day a public meeting of citizens was called and a protective association was formed known as the Committee of Safety under the presidency of William T. Coleman who had headed the Vigilance Committee of 1856. By nightfall, he had a volunteer organization of over five thousand members armed for the most part with hickory pick handles; hence their subsequent title of "pick handle brigade."

On the night of July 25, after a day of excitement and disturbance, and several encounters, the rioters determined to make an attack on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's docks and steamers at the foot of Brannan Street where the Chinese immigrants were landed. Threats to destroy this property had been made before. Great crowds congregated in the neighborhood and fire was set to several nearby lumber yards. The disorderly elements were out in large force and attempted to interfere with the firemen who soon arrived with their engines; but, at the same time with the firemen, came many policemen reinforced by large

numbers of the pick handle brigade, who at once began to disperse the crowds. There was a general fight for a couple of hours; in the melee a number of shots were fired and many stones thrown; a few men were killed, and a number wounded. The object of the police and committee was not to kill or maim the rioters but to disperse them. In this they finally succeeded.

The show of force and organization ended most rioting but it did not alleviate the situation of the unemployed. The laboring classes were discontented and hardly knew which way to turn. They only needed a bold leader to turn them in almost any direction. There was therefore a magnificent opening for a demagogue. And a demagogue of considerable boldness and force, and for a while of extraordinary success, soon appeared. This was Dennis Kearney, an Irish drayman, born in County Cork and about thirty years of age. He threw himself into the so-called workingmen's movement, which had already been started and soon took a prominent part in it. In August he advocated the organization of a new party soon to be known as the Workingmen's Party of California, but because it held its principal meetings every Sunday afternoon on the then vacant lots south of the new city hall, it was usually known as the Sand Lots party. Here Kearney continued to make incendiary speeches for many months, denouncing the capitalists, threatening the Chinese and advocating drastic means if the party could not attain its ends by peaceable procedure.

These conditions in public affairs could not be overlooked by an alert gang of boys from seven to nine years old, accustomed to a life on the streets and with an inordinate curiosity as to the doings of their elders. We soon shed all interest in finance and exploration and converged on the City. It became immediately evident that a considerable group of us aroused much more attention and suspicion from our elders than a single small boy loitering about them. Consequently, we all became amateur sleuths with deadpan faces and wide open ears. Dennis Kearney was a neighbor of ours on Rincon Hill. He was tailed by one of the gang when he was on the street near home, as were some of the other leaders. Meetings where information could be shared became essential to us as we should have burst if we could not spill our findings. We were soon meeting with the regularity of a club. The meetings engendered so much excitement that they became objects of suspicion from our elders. We promptly sensed this and soon became a well-organized underground. A favorite meeting place was the Tildens' unused stable.

Their house was on Hawthorne Street, the barn at the back of the lot below the house level, and out of sight from Hawthorne Street. It was not new to us for it had been useful to us in avoiding police supervision. Its rear wall was supported by a brick foundation six or eight feet high which also marked the end of an alley which came up from Third Street. By lifting a loose plank in the floor of the stable, we could drop down alongside of this wall. The bricks of that day were often inadequately fired and when wet were soft enough to crumble if attacked with a sharp instrument. We opened a hole large enough for a boy to wriggle through the wall into a vacant lot that fronted on the alley. Thus it was inconspicuous from the alley, and a little persuading opened a hole in the board fence of the lot. It was easy to disperse into the traffic of Third Street which had small relation to the top of the hill. We did our best to learn where breaches of the peace would occur and attended many minor outbreaks. But parental authority enveloped us after nightfall so we missed the major riots. We did attend a number of the Sunday afternoon Sand Lot Meetings and skirted the outer edges of the crowds listening to the comments of the listeners and becoming acquainted with the appearance of the speakers.

This turbulent era held our interest well into 1878 when the new constitution election added new subjects to lists of the Sand Lot speakers. By this time we had become bold enough to shout some vigorous "noes" to questions put to voice vote. This had to be done from the outer edges as we had to duck and scatter to avoid reprisals. However, the old topics had begun to turn stale for us. The new constitution was, as I have already said, a live issue with us. The election on this issue was held on May 7, 1879 and as already indicated the vote favored adoption by about seven per cent majority. It was a live issue for California voters. Ninety per cent of the registered voters turned out and voted.

My personal grief over this outcome was soon diverted. The family spent most of the summer and early autumn in the Sierra, first at beautiful Summit Soda Springs adjoining the estate of Mrs. Mark Hopkins and later, after an interesting ride down to Truckee in the caboose of a freight train, at Tahoe City. On my return to San Francisco, I found my pals had been on the edge of further political excitement. The Workingmen's Party had nominated a Baptist preacher, Reverend Isaac S. Kalloch, for Mayor. The *San Francisco Chronicle* attacked Kalloch and published some damaging statements against him. Kalloch, from his pulpit, answered by attacking the mother of Charles DeYoung

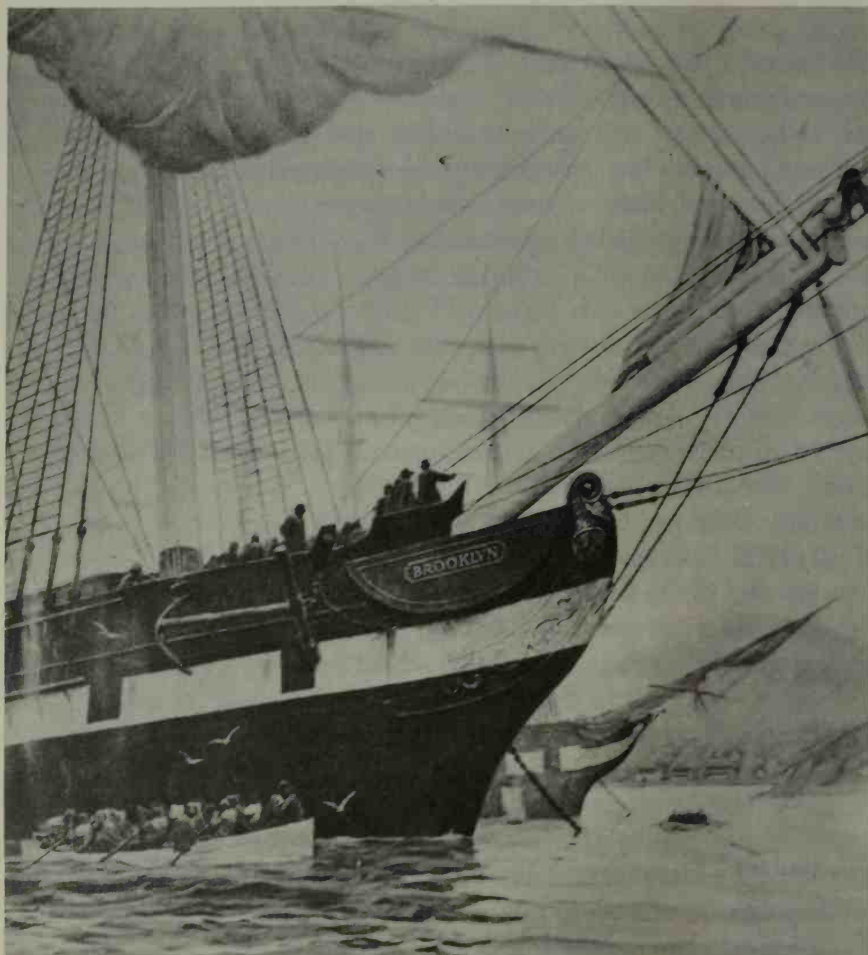
and Michael DeYoung. Charles DeYoung responded by going down to Kalloch's study in the Metropolitan Temple on Fifth Street and shooting him, wounding him seriously. The Campaign Committee of the Workingmen's Party was skillful in using this assault and at the election Kalloch was elected by a large majority and inducted into the office of Mayor. The newspaper continued to assail him and finally having found and published a particularly damaging statement, the Mayor's son, also a Baptist minister, surprised Charles DeYoung at the Chronicle office and killed him. However, this was only a passing incident. With the defeat of our efforts to prevent the adoption of the New Constitution and the capture of the City by the enemy, we lost interest in matters political and turned to such boyish games as were available to us. New areas for exploration were opened to us by the extension to the limits of population by the California Street Cable Railroad in 1878 and the Geary Street Cable Road in 1880 at Fillmore Street. We could plod over the brush and oak covered sand hills to Lone Mountain and climb to the great cross on its summit or explore the area farther north until we met the untamed drifting sand hills, or still farther north until we came to the lake from which the Spring Valley Water Company supplied the northern section of the City.

Early in the summer of 1880 my Mother took her three children to the East to visit our many relatives and become acquainted with New England. We stayed long enough to have a sample of winter sports under the guidance of our cousins. Shortly after our return I was entered in the fourth grade of Lincoln Grammar School on Fifth Street near Market Street. It was the largest school in the City, housing about twelve hundred scholars. We were herded into two large planked yards behind the building where the classes were drawn up in single file and marched into our class rooms to the beat of a drum. The boy who acted as drummer and the principal stood on the roof of the shed dividing the two yards and the principal gave the orders. We were returned to the yards for noon recess where most of the scholars ate their lunches. There were a few trash cans about, but most of the surplus food was tossed out to go down between the planks. The scavenger work down there was done by a horde of rats. The area was small for such a large crowd and we were kept under strict supervision to prevent running or mass movements of any kind. So, we had no sports to make recess desirable.

The new school, however, greatly enlarged my circle of acquaint-

1875

1875



THE SHIP BROOKLYN, from a painting by Arnold Friberg.
Courtesy The Improvement Era.

(See page 229)

ances and added many new friends and they brought me new ideas and new fields for exploration. One of these became a frequent excursion. We took the newly finished Union Street Cable Car out to the Presidio Gate and walked through the Presidio to Fort Point where we paused to ramble through the untenanted Fort and then we proceeded from that point on top of the wooden flume of the Spring Valley Water Company which brought its water from the lake previously mentioned to the north side of San Francisco. The flume was a box flume about three feet high and wide. It was decked over, stood on a trestle for most of its length and on mud sills where it crossed the rocky points it met. There were also cross fences at intervals with picket tops to prevent intruders from using it, but any live boy could swing himself around them. The flume followed the shore line for about two miles before turning in toward the lake. Near this point was our destination, Baker's Beach, a beautiful stretch of beach between jutting rocky points. Above it was a springy meadow with a carpet of the rare *Iris longipetala* which civilization has made almost extinct. Beyond the meadow on the landward side there was a belt of drifting sand a mile or mile and a half in width. No minion of the law or foreign enemy could toil through that to descend on us. The ocean was in front of us and all in sight. It was before the day of motorboats and no sail craft ventured near the rocky shore. We could see the whole length of the flume so we could see any approaching party by that route and the cliffs between us and the Cliff House were sheer to the water's edge. Strange to say during our many visits only two or three times did any party approach by way of the flume. We soon acquired a sense of proprietorship and revelled in our isolation. It enabled us to shed any unnecessary impedimenta such as bathing suits for there was plenty of time to dress if we spotted flume walkers.

My previous school experience had been in a small private school whose scholars were all drawn from a limited area. I was now a small cog in a large machine which turned at the pace of the mass. My fellow scholars were drawn from a large area of the City and were of several races. Having entered in the second half of a school year, I was fortunate in getting into a class whose teacher fitted the collar of discipline to my neck, gently. Not so my contemporaries. I was fair game for a searching investigation of my past life, my present views, and my luncheon resources, during recess; they also ganged up in devising practical jokes or semi-secret assaults to test my mettle. These latter, of

course, had to be staged when the attention of the supervising official was turned to other quarters. It was not long before I found interesting friends and became a member of one of the groups into which such aggregations of boys split. Among them were several life long friends.

My three years and a half at the Lincoln Grammar School gave me far more of an education than my previous experience. I had learned to read and write and had begun to read on my own initiative. I knew enough arithmetic to get into step with my grade, but it took some hustling to take the pace of the class and I had to scratch gravel to follow the intricacies of grammar. But more than the subjects themselves was the discipline of being prepared in advance in all your subjects to the extent that they had been assigned for the day. Our classes numbered about sixty; an hour was assigned to each subject and we were called up under no prearranged system. There was little shelter for anyone who attempted to bluff. You were not called on every day but if you were you had to be brief, definite and fluent or take a verbal castigation while the class snickered. And I must say that our teachers succeeded in arousing a considerable competition among their pupils.

But it was not only in school that I was getting an education. From my associates I acquired a large fund of small boy lore that was useful when venturing into unfamiliar portions of the City, or avoiding observation during infractions of rules, or diverting attention from desired objectives. Also among my friends were constant followers of the theater. I was not unacquainted with the theater but had only attended under family guidance. I remember being taken to the opening production at the Grand Opera House on Mission Street near Third. It was a spectacle called "Snowflake." I also saw there Joe Jefferson in *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Rivals*, before I ventured out with companions of my own age. San Francisco, from its earliest days, was known among the celebrated theatrical people of the world as a city where audiences were both discriminating and cordial. Most of the world's most distinguished actors and actresses after 1853 made the month-long journey in both directions just to play in San Francisco. This reputation still held true in the '80s and on to the end of the century.

The old California Theater on Bush Street had a spacious top gallery where for two bits at the Saturday Matinee we could see drama in all its phases. From that station I saw all of the celebrated Shakespearean actors of the day and many of the blood curdling melodramas then current. I saw there at least seventy-five years ago the original company

that put on "Around the World in 80 Days" which has recently been revived so successfully. Across the street was the smaller Bush Street Theater where the ruling attraction was Haverly's Minstrel Company interspersed with many of the tuneful light operas that were so popular in the last century. Here I heard "The Mikado" at its first appearance in San Francisco.

We only frequented the theaters on Saturday afternoons for there was homework to be done at night. On Sunday there was Sunday School and Church. The other days we walked to school and back home after a session from nine till three. Life had become much more of a routine than when I attended the private school and there was much less free time to give to the life of the City. I wonder now how we were able to get so much time to snoop into City affairs during the four years at the private school.

Now let us take a backward look at San Francisco during 1876 when our Rincon Hill crowd first began to study it. It was thirty years since the American flag was raised and twenty-eight since the treaty ceded California to the United States. At the time the flag was raised there were about thirty houses in the village of Yerba Buena.

In 1876 it was a city of 200,000 inhabitants. It had passed through its riotous youth although the echoes were still in the air and many of the early inhabitants were still active figures. It was then in the throes of its prodigal adolescence lured on by visions of the yet to be uncovered, ready made treasures of nature at the end of the rainbow. Our gang when exposed to the atmosphere of this era felt its exhilaration, but it was not auto-intoxication as it was with our elders, so when the vision faded and the rainbow dissolved we did not have the headache that they did. It was potent and protracted. In retrospect it is easy to recognize the fact that recovery from the mad speculation was not all that was involved; it was also a period of fundamental readjustment to changed conditions not fully realized nor dealt with, while the madness was on. During the whole decade from 1870 to 1880, San Francisco had more than a quarter of the sparse population of California. The City could not be maintained on the scale of living to which it was accustomed by supplying the wants and handling the products of that limited population without the equivalent of the Comstock income. Prior to the opening of the railroad it had commanded the import trade of the area west of the Rocky Mountains but now railroads were advancing both to the north and the south; its field was narrowing. San Francisco met this

condition by using its brains and its capital in developing the latent resources of the State. Naturally, the first effort was in the expansion of agriculture. From the middle fifties the State had a surplus of agricultural products for export. Grain was the principal export crop and by the decade of the '80s was a major element of the economy. The early farmers naturally turned to it because large acreages could be handled by the limited population available. The extension of the railroad through the San Joaquin Valley in the seventies had made available a vast additional area. During that decade more than two-thirds of the cultivated land was in grain. The next largest acreage was in wine grapes. Both of these crops were grown without irrigation. A few bold spirits had demonstrated that many other products could be grown if they could be assured of water at the right season. The City joined the struggling valley towns in financing and building irrigation systems. The railroad, with its large land grant holdings, cooperated by giving inducements to immigrants to populate and cultivate intensively the areas brought under irrigation. The City also plunged into the canning industry which absorbed the excess products of field and orchard. In half a century, California became the state with the largest and most diversified range of agricultural products in the Union.

Meantime, in the late eighties and early nineties a series of disassociated efforts was leading to a momentous event in the history of California's industrial development. In 1895, Livermore's electric generating plant on the American River began transmitting hydro-electric power of high voltage to Sacramento, generated by the waters carried by the old Natomas mining canal. Forthwith, the San Francisco owners of the old mining ditches, which had been finally put out of business by the Anti-Debris decision, saw a source of revenue in their properties beside water for irrigation. During this same era, San Franciscans had finally located and proved up an oil field in the southern San Joaquin Valley and began refining in a small way in Alameda.

When the late Robert Glass Cleland chose his title "From Wilderness to Empire" for his short history of California from its discovery by Europeans to the year 1900, the title was prophetic rather than descriptive. In the fifty-seven succeeding years these two industries have furnished the means for California to become an industrial as well as an agricultural empire.

ANSON S. BLAKE

The Ship *Brooklyn*

By AMELIA D. EVERETT

ON THE BRIGHT, BREEZY AFTERNOON of July 31, 1846, there sailed through the Golden Gate the ship *Brooklyn*, piloted by Capt. Edward Richardson, who was also part-owner. Aboard were over two hundred peace-seeking, sea-weary, and worried Latter Day Saints, commonly called Mormons. Expert craftsmen with stocks of goods were among them; farmers with domestic animals and equipment; and a few professional men; mainly from the eastern United States. Of the total when they left New York on February 4, 1846, 70 were men, 68 women, and 100 children. But during the voyage there had been spiritual backsliding involving four, death had taken ten, and there were two births.¹

The leader or presiding elder of the group was Samuel Brannan, a printer by trade.² Most Californians have heard about Brannan and his accomplishments, but the details of his first and probably his greatest success—the chartering and managing of the cargo-ship *Brooklyn* for this important voyage—are less familiar. Born in Saco, Maine, in 1819, Brannan was a large and handsome man, with a forceful personality; and the *Brooklyn* put him and his fellow-passengers down where they were sure the Lord had sent them. Consequently, many descendants of the *Brooklyn* pioneers now live to glorify the ship and the voyage, though it was a trying experience at times for the voyagers.

The *Brooklyn* was built at Newcastle, Maine, in 1834, and was a full-rigged ship of 445 tons, 125 feet 4 inches long, 27 feet 11 inches beam, and 13 feet 1½ inches depth of hold.³ The records show that in November 1839 she was owned at New York by Abel W. Richardson, Stephen C. Burdett, and her captain, Edward Richardson. Elder Brannan chartered her at \$1200 per month, the rate of passage to California being fixed at \$50 for adults, with an additional charge of \$25 for subsistence. Her provisioning and the cabins and bunks he had built cost over \$16,000; and though he did not have the money, he was courageous and shrewd enough to raise it with the help of his flock.⁴

Like their forbears, these pilgrims were seeking a place for freedom

of worship, in spite of the fact that their departure was from the port of New York, supposed to be the front door to the land of freedom itself. But mobs had murdered their prophet, Joseph Smith, and his brother Hyrum, and had driven their co-religionists from state to state.⁵ In far-away California they hoped at last to find a refuge. En route they stopped at the Hawaiian Islands to deliver 500 barrels of freight, the proceeds helping to defray part of their passage. There they saw war-ships; the United States was at war with Mexico, and the very place for which they were headed was subject to attack. Some of the passengers became panic-stricken. They feared they would be stranded on the Island of Oahu instead of going to California. Others favored going to Oregon or to Victoria Island. But the peril of war was not the paramount problem in the thoughts of their adventure-loving leader.

Instead, Brannan was remembering a contract he had signed with Kendall, Benson and Company of New York, who were said to have influence with the government, which was disposed to prevent the Mormons from leaving. This company agreed to furnish protection if the Mormon leaders would sign an agreement to transfer to "A. G. Benson, Kendall and Company and their heirs and assigns," the odd number of all land units and town lots settled or acquired by the Mormons wherever they might choose to colonize.⁶ In other words, Mormons were to divide with politicians their "inheritance" in the new Zion-to-be. Brannan signed the agreement and in vain waited nearly a month for Brigham Young's signature to arrive by mail from Nauvoo, Illinois. By February 4, 1846, he had determined to slip past the guns of Fort Lafayette in New York harbor without waiting any longer. Why hadn't Young signed the pact for their safety, he wondered? He would never rest until he found out.

Now he was faced with the threat of being stopped in Hawaii by Commodore Robert F. Stockton. He must see Stockton. The interview proved pleasing, even exhilarating, to Samuel Brannan. Instead of preventing their progress, Stockton had encouraged the venture.⁷ He said that the Navy was to begin an assault against Mexico at Monterey, and he offered the suggestion that the Mormons take and hold Yerba Buena in the name of the United States. To that end, he assisted Brannan in buying some outmoded arms from the Navy. Brannan drilled the seventy male passengers of the *Brooklyn*, aided by Samuel Ladd, an ex-soldier, and Robert Smith, another passenger who understood military tactics. As for dissenters, Brannan reminded them of their obliga-

tion to prepare a place in California for the 10,000 overland pioneers who were being led westward by Brigham Young. Brannan never took his fellow voyagers into his full confidence; and they, on their part, liked neither his pomposity nor his forceful methods of ruling, but, with Mormon loyalty to leadership, they obeyed.⁸

The *Brooklyn's* stop-over at Honolulu prompted the town's leading newspaper, *The Friend*, published and edited by Samuel C. Damon, to give, in its July 1, 1846, issue, an extended account of the visitors' religious beliefs and their ecclesiastical organization. The passengers on the *Brooklyn* were said to "have come from the Baptists, others from the Methodists, a few from the Presbyterians, while almost every denomination has its representative among them. . . . The difficulties in which these people found themselves at Nauvoo, and other parts of the States have led to the resolution to 'break up' and 'be off' for California." Mormon emigrants had already left Liverpool and others would soon follow, all bound for the west. The *Brooklyn's* captain had referred "in the most favorable manner" to his passengers' "general behavior and character" during the long voyage. "That we differ," the article continued, "upon many essential points of doctrine and practice is clearly manifest, yet our best wishes and prayers go with them. . . . They are to lay the foundations of . . . institutions, social, civil and religious. O, may they be such that coming generations shall rise up and call them blessed."

When they were again on the way to California, Brannan dug up a suitable bolt of cloth from the cargo, and the women fashioned it into uniforms for their new-fledged warriors. Each man had a military cap, and there were 50 Allen's revolvers available.⁹ Thus outfitted, they drilled while they sailed. On July 31, 1846, as they neared their destination Samuel Brannan strutted to the front of the deck. Why shouldn't he and his men plant the American flag on San Francisco Bay? That would be an act worthy of notice. Shortly thereafter, they were passing through the rocky portals of the Golden Gate. Sam was eagerly peering through the telescope. He saw a war ship anchored in the cove; but what was more to his consternation was the sight of the American flag, hoisted and waving. "Damn that flag!" he said, not in disrespect for the flag but in disappointment that he had not arrived in time to be the first to fly it.¹⁰

Cannon from the Yerba Buena battery boomed a salute, and a gun from the *Brooklyn* responded. A sturdy rowboat glided out to meet

them. Soon uniformed men trod the *Brooklyn's* deck. The Mormons were happy to see that they were friendly Americans from the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*, not Mexicans. One of the passengers reported: "In our native tongue the officer in command, with head uncovered, courteously said, 'Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that you are in the United States of America.' Three hearty cheers were given in reply."¹¹

The long sandy beach at Yerba Buena was strewn with hides and the skeletons of slaughtered cattle. There were a few scrubby oaks and, beyond, low sandhills rose as a background to the adobe customhouse and some old shanties that leaned away from the wind. Dejected-looking donkeys plodded along beneath bundles of wood. Here and there, loungers stretched themselves in lazy fashion on the beach. That "odd, uncouth town" was Yerba Buena—soon to be San Francisco—the landing place for the children of the hoped-for new Zion.¹²

So far as is known, the *Brooklyn's* passengers constituted the first Anglo-Saxon colony to sail around Cape Horn with their women and children, and to land in California. The ship herself was the second to come through the Golden Gate after the American flag was raised. War had scarcely begun. A Mexican counter-attack was expected, and the seventy impromptu Mormon soldiers were welcome. A month before, the Bear Flag revolt had precipitated hostilities in California. Commodore Sloat had now captured Monterey, and Colonel Frémont's "California Battalion" was marching south to engage the enemy. Yerba Buena's flank stood exposed.

The sea-weary travelers were glad to land after six months in crowded cabins. They found a community consisting of half a dozen Americans (other than the sailors and Marines from the *Portsmouth*), several members of Spanish families, and about 100 Indians. Everyone wanted to see the *Brooklyn*, and the natives were amazed at the amount and variety of the things taken off her. There was Brannan's printing press with two years' supply of paper and type, and all the material pertaining to the *Prophet*, one of the two church papers Brannan had published in New York. There were three flour mills, a saw mill, numerous implements for farmers and mechanics—enough for 800 men, in the expectation that there would be later additions to the colony.¹³ There were two milch cows, forty pigs, and a crate of fowls; saddles; sewing machines; a blacksmith's forge, iron pipes, brass, copper, tin; crockery; dry goods; hammocks, tents; medical supplies; smooth-bore

muskets; food enough to last them another month; and books—more, one writer states, than could be found in all the rest of the territory put together. Among them were many copies of the *Bible* and of the *Book of Mormon*; also copies of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and of the “Pearl of Great Price” (then in manuscript)—the four books that are considered the standard works of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints. In addition, there were many schoolbooks, dictionaries, and encyclopedias, as well as slates. *Harper’s Family Library* of 179 volumes had been given to them by I. M. VanCott, at a farewell party on the night before they left New York.¹⁴

Under the title “the awakening of Yerba Buena” one historian credits much of the town’s progress at that time to the supplies the Mormon colonists brought with them on the *Brooklyn*.¹⁵ Not only were material objects unloaded that day on the Yerba Buena beach, but those who did the unloading had, ingrained in themselves, habits of industry and a talent for establishing and adorning their homes. The first night many found shelter in tents, and for a month or more, guards kept a sharp lookout for possible attack; but the enemy never appeared and was soon forgotten by the newcomers in the stress of finding food, in building adequate shelter, and in work that would help them pay off the indebtedness they had incurred for transportation to California. For example, twenty men were sent to Marin County with axes, whipsaws, and Spanish oxen, to haul out redwood as cargo for the *Brooklyn’s* return trip.¹⁶

In an attempt to find an answer to the question often asked, namely, what happened to the *Brooklyn* after her 1846 voyage, the present writer consulted Mr. John Lyman, the specialist on California shipping, at the Archives in Washington, D. C., who supplied the information on the ship’s dimensions, etc., mentioned earlier. According to Mr. Lyman, in November, 1839, the *Brooklyn* was owned at New York by Abel W. Richardson, Stephen C. Burdett, and her captain, Edward Richardson; but by January 1849 her owners had been changed to Edward Richardson and Francis Burritt, both of New York City, with Joseph M. Richardson as master. She loaded at New York for San Francisco via Panama at the end of 1849, being freighted by A. G. Benson & Co. and E. Richardson. In March 1852, Francis Burritt became the sole owner. The next month he sold her to Marshall O. Roberts, George Law, and Bowes R. McIlwaine, trustees, who represented the United States Mail Line which provided the New York-to-Panama service connecting

with the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. between Panama and San Francisco. To quote Mr. Lyman directly on the *Brooklyn's* history:

She was registered on 10 April 1852 at New York, and this document is not to be found at the Archives. (Normally, whenever a ship is reregistered, sold foreign, or wrecked, her document is cancelled and sent to Washington.) However, the summary of registers indicates that a report was made to Washington by the Collector at New York early in August 1856; (the date is either 4 or 6 August). This can only mean that the *Brooklyn* was wrecked, scrapped, or sold to foreigners between April 1852 and August 1856; but at this time nothing further can be determined as to her fate.¹⁷

SOME DETAILS OF THE VOYAGE

To return to the *Brooklyn's* 1846 voyage: a few days after leaving New York she encountered a great storm. All on board were sea-sick. According to one eye-witness, the more resolute ones "struggled to the deck to behold the sublime grandeur of the scene, to hear the dismal howl of the winds, and to see the ship . . . dipping in the troughs of the sea and then tossed on the highest billow." On the passenger deck, all manner of household furnishings were crashing into each other. "Sister Laura Goodwin was thrown from a ladder and lay critically injured. Old Brother Ensign and his daughter Eliza were dead. It was only by realizing that the Lord holds the waters in His hand that we could have faith to be delivered from our perilous condition."¹⁸

As they neared the treacherous coast of the Cape Verde Islands, Samuel Brannan adjured them to "Sing! Sing all!" And, with "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning," and "We Are Going to California," the Saints sang down the howl of the winds and the roar of the waves. Captain Richardson, having given up hope, went below to prepare his passengers for the worst. He was astonished to find them singing, singing all, in the face of a watery grave. Suddenly the wind died to a sailing breeze; the sun came out, and, in thanks for their deliverance, the voyagers knelt in prayer.¹⁹

During the storm, Silas Aldrich had died, as well as a child of John Fowler, two children of John R. Robbins, and George K. Winner's child. These tragedies heightened all the more the Saints' apprehension of the dangers still awaiting them in the rounding of Cape Horn.

In crossing the equator, they experienced calm for two or three days. The children thronged the deck, attending school, jumping rope, and engaging in other amusements. One day the thermometer on deck fell as low as 36 degrees, which Captain Richardson attributed to their

passing near an iceberg. Cape Horn was at last rounded; beyond, everything seemed propitious—in fact, the two oceans came in for special recognition. While the *Brooklyn* was traversing the Atlantic, a baby, born to Sarah Sloat Burr, was given the name of John Atlantic Burr; during the rounding of Cape Horn, the wife of John Robbins gave birth to a baby girl, who was thereupon christened Georgianna Pacific Robbins. Two more children died and were buried at sea.²⁰

When the stock of fresh food was gone, scurvy began to take its toll. Supplies of water and of fuel (needed for the cook stoves) were becoming exhausted. Laura Goodwin, the accident victim, had died after requesting that she be buried on land. Owing to a heavy gale from the south, Captain Richardson was unable to land at Valparaiso, but by the time they came abreast of the Island of Juan Fernandez (Defoe's Robinson Crusoe Isle) a landing was possible. Here they found an abundance of food—goats, pigs, hares, fresh peaches and figs—the fruit being invaluable in combatting the scurvy; and there was plenty of wood and water. Except for two families, the island had been deserted because of an earthquake. The *Brooklyn's* passengers found them eager to help in loading the ship with whatever native products were desired and at exceedingly low prices. The stop at Juan Fernandez Island also made it possible to fulfill Laura Goodwin's wish to be buried on land. The merciful hand of God was now seen in the wind that had prevented their landing at Valparaiso, where only a meager supply of food would have taken all the funds they had.²¹

On May 9th, the company left Juan Fernandez and had clear sailing all the way to the Sandwich Islands. But trouble had been brewing aboard, and Brannan's method of stopping it had only made it worse. Lucy Eagar, an attractive widow with grown children, was the center of some talk about polygamy—a subject forbidden by Brannan. Two men were interested in Lucy. One was already married, but he spoke of making her his second wife. Whereupon Brannan excommunicated several men and also Lucy Eagar. He had to report it to the presidency at the Saints' headquarters; so he gave as his excuse that their conduct had been "wicked and licentious." This stirred up a sharp reaction among the interested parties and others, and they determined to take Brannan to court upon their arrival at their destination. When the case came to trial, the jury found for Brannan.²²

Elder Brannan is said to have officiated at the town's first American wedding—Lizzie Winner to Basil Hall.²³ He continued to urge his flock

to hold strictly to the regulation for meetings, and not let themselves be led astray by the ways of the Gentiles. For a time he was the only preacher in the community; he published the first San Francisco newspaper, the *California Star* (Jan. 9, 1847); he was, in fact, a "first-doer" of many things, such as becoming the town's first millionaire. But there were others arriving on the *Brooklyn* who were likewise originators and makers of fortunes.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE PASSENGERS

John Horner, a "Seventy" in the Mormon Church, a wheelwright, blacksmith, farmer, and town-planner, made history in the southern part of Alameda County by erecting the first American home in the county.²⁴ His son is reported to have been the first Anglo-Saxon child born in California. John Horner built the county's first schoolhouse, which was also used as a church for twenty-three years, and he was the first non-Catholic to hold church services in the county. In improving methods of communication—on San Francisco Bay and along roads (including the building of bridges)—and in the establishment of laundries, he was a pioneer. He also donated ground for a grave yard. Horner spent his money freely to advance his religion, though he did not go to Utah.

With the colony on the *Brooklyn* were also Isaac Robbins and his brothers John Roger (father of Georgianna Pacific Robbins) and Charles.²⁵ A ship coming into San Francisco Bay from Sydney had on board a horse which the Robbinses purchased; with it and a cart they started the first express business in San Francisco. Like Brannan, John R. Robbins thought that Brigham Young might be persuaded to build his Zion-metropolis at the gateway to the Pacific. John therefore took up land where the Sheraton-Palace Hotel now stands. He later became the father of two girls. Their *Brooklyn*-born sister, Georgianna Pacific, attained prominence in the musical life of early Salt Lake City. John R. made several trips from his farm in New Jersey, back and forth across the continent, and settled in Utah in 1853. Under date of July 6, 1854, the *Deseret News* says: "John Roger Robbins, C. Kinkead, J. Needham and L. Stewart have arrived in our city in advance of their trains of goods to the value of one million dollars which are now on the road to this Market and will soon begin to arrive."

Charles Burtis Robbins remained in San Francisco to work as a printer's apprentice to Samuel Brannan, and assisted in getting out the first number of the *California Star*. He also mined for gold on Mormon

Island. By 1853 he had become a resident of Utah, after returning to New Jersey via the Isthmus of Panama.²⁶

The family of William Evans learned to speak Spanish fluently while living among the Spanish residents of San Francisco. William purchased a piece of land on the corner of Market Street and Van Ness Avenue, and established what has been called the first tailor shop on the west coast of America. The Evans home became a mecca for the missionaries of their church. William died in 1851, leaving his widow Hannah and five children. Hannah carried on her husband's business until, in 1856, she moved her family to Utah.²⁷

Among the other *Brooklyn* passengers were John Joyce, a carpenter, his wife Caroline A., and two daughters. In Boston, Mrs. Joyce was called "the Mormon Nightingale." Strangers, indifferent to the Gospel, would say, "Let us go to Boylston Hall and hear her sing."²⁸ Many thought that she sang the newly-restored hymns as one inspired. After coming to San Francisco she was able to buy a melodeon, the first in San Francisco, brought to the coast in 1848 by Washington Holbrook, supercargo on the American brig *Sabine*.²⁹ According to Joyce's daughter, her father prospered in the growing community, but his wealth coming between him and his religious principles, he abandoned the latter. Combined with his heavy drinking, this caused a separation between him and Mrs. Joyce. Subsequently she was married to Col. Alden A. M. Jackson.

While preparing this account, the writer interviewed John Eagar's descendants, who are highly thought-of citizens and loyal workers in the Mormon Church. They state that they have searched all available records to learn why his mother, Lucy Eagar, was excommunicated and have found no complaint against her except Samuel Brannan's. As they see it, Mrs. Eagar's great mistake was in staying out of the church, even though she lost her case against Brannan. She managed to support herself, however, in addition to securing a town lot, by keeping a small store in San Francisco in 1846. In 1847 she moved to Monterey, where her daughter taught school.³⁰ John was one of Brannan's *California Star* printers, while her other son, Thomas, gold miner, owner of a San Francisco lot, and lumberman of East Oakland, was a member of the California legislature in the 1860's.³¹

Brooklyn passenger William Glover, whose manuscript reminiscences, "Mormons in California," dated 1884, Bancroft calls "an important source of information on its topic," was by craft a mason and

builder.³² He went to the mines in 1848, did well, and later removed to Farmington, Utah. While living in San Francisco he invested in town lots and took up his responsibilities as a citizen in 1847 by serving, along with W. D. M. Howard, W. A. Leidesdorff, and Elbert P. Jones (a Kentucky lawyer and first editor of Brannan's *Star*), on the town council or ayuntamiento, and also on the school committee.³³

In efforts to further education in the new community, Glover worked along with Samuel Brannan, whose breadth of view was shown in the prospectus for his newspaper; viz., that it would "eschew with the greatest caution every thing that tends to the propagation of sectarian dogmas." Brannan gave weight to his views by urging in the *Star's* columns the necessity of getting the forty children he had counted off the streets and into a schoolhouse; and, as a member of a committee chosen for the purpose, by personally canvassing the community for scholars to act as teachers.³⁴ Meanwhile, William Glover's efforts were directed toward the erection of a suitable schoolhouse.³⁵

But San Francisco was not destined to be the new Zion for the Mormon Church; nor did Brannan's attempt to establish it at New Hope in the San Joaquin Valley meet with success. Instead, when Brannan and his party struggled over the Sierra (taking with them copies of the *California Star* as persuasive evidence) in April 1847, to meet Brigham Young midway of the continent, he at last realized that it was fruitless to argue. Young and his council had made up their minds; to them neither the Peninsula of San Francisco nor the Valley of the San Joaquin offered a site for the blossoming of Zion that could compare with the Valley of Salt Lake.³⁶

NOTES

1. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Sept. 11, 1866, p. 6; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), V, 546, including notes 34 and 35; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, II (San Francisco, 1897), 593-95.

2. Soulé *et al.*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 748-53, with portrait; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 728.

3. John Lyman, letter of Dec. 19, 1957, to present writer, communicating his researches at the National Archives on early California shipping.

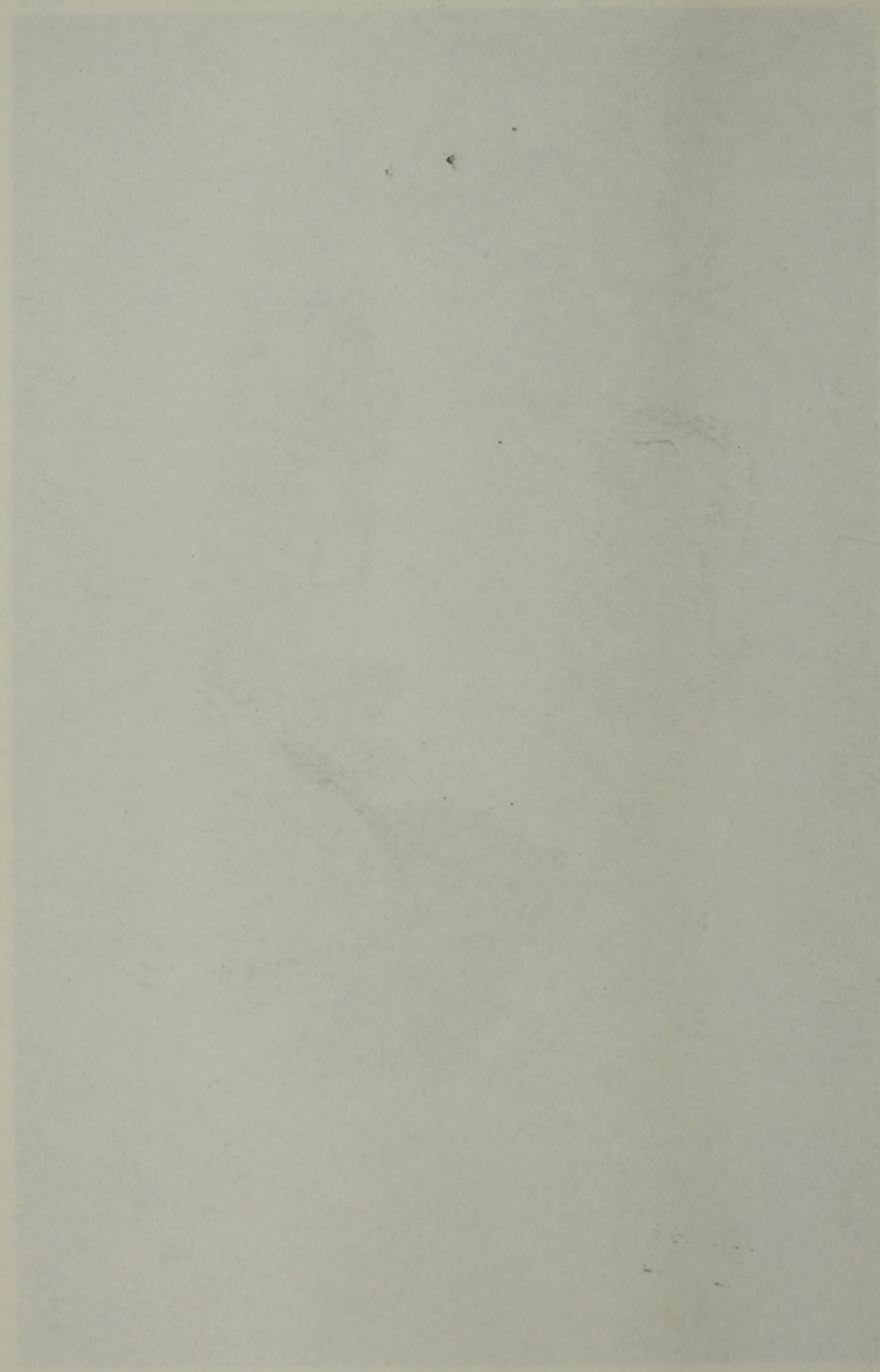
4. Paul Dayton Bailey, *Sam Brannan and the California Mormons* (Los Angeles, 1943), p. 26; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 545; Soulé *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 749.
5. *History of the [Mormon] Church* (Salt Lake City, 1932), VI, 612; VII, 177.
6. *Ibid.*, VII, 589-91; cf. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 547, 548 (note 36).
7. William Glover, "Mormons in California," dated 1884 (manuscript, Bancroft Library); recently (1954) published in book form by Glen Dawson, Los Angeles. Stockton paid his visit to the *Brooklyn* in Honolulu harbor on July 3, 1846.
8. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 469-70; Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
9. John Eagar, narrative of voyage of *Brooklyn*, dated 1884, Farmington, Utah (manuscript, Bancroft Library).
10. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 550.
11. Kate Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1945), VII, 395.
12. Sacramento *Daily Union*, note 1 above; respecting ruinous conditions of building in Yerba Buena in 1844, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 431, 669-70; name changed to San Francisco, V, 645 (note).
13. *Ibid.*, II, 738; V, 545.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 545 (note 33).
15. John P. Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915), p. 4.
16. Glover, *op. cit.*; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 551.
17. John Lyman, letter of April 7, 1958, to present writer; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 576; Soulé *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 749.
18. Glover, *op. cit.*
19. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
20. The Honolulu *Friend*, July 1, 1846, pp. 101-102, gives causes of deaths as diarrhea, scarlet fever, consumption, cankered sore throat, and dropsy of the stomach, with the ages of the victims. See also Carter, *op. cit.*, VII, 400.
21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 549.
22. Soulé *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 750-51; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 549 (note 37 cites Brannan's letter in the *Liverpool Millennial Star*, IX, 307); 552 (note 42).
23. *Ibid.*, III, 773; V, 778; John H. Brown, *Reminiscences . . . of "The Early Days" of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1886), pp. 28-29.
24. Annaleone Patton, *Oakland Tribune*, "Knave" section, Aug. 20, 1950. A "Seventy" indicates a member of one of the missionary agencies of the Mormon Church, each composed of 70 elders.
25. Carter, *op. cit.*, VII, 400.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 401; also interviews by present writer with Mrs. Hilda Perkins, granddaughter of William and Hannah Evans; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 795.
28. Augusta Joyce Crocheron, *Representative Women of Deseret* (Salt Lake City, 1884), p. 105; Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

29. Information on Washington Holbrook in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 786.
30. *Ibid.*, II, 787-88.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, III, 758.
33. *Ibid.*, V, 648 (note).
34. Soulé *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 174. See also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 656 (note).
35. *Ibid.*
36. *History of the Church*, *op. cit.*, VII, 591. For Brannan's excommunication and his subsequent reinstatement, see *ibid.*, pp. 395, 418.



SNOW IN THE SIERRA, a painting by William Hahn.
Presented to the Society by Mrs. Eric Gerson in memory of her father, Jacob Goldberg.

Manuscript of the first part of the history of the city of London, from the foundation of the city to the year 1700.



Letters of Narciso Durán

*From the manuscript collections
in the California Historical Society Library*

Translated by FRANCIS PRICE

(Concluded)

†

Long Live Jesus!

Very Reverend Father Procurator Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago.

Mission of our Lord San José December 18, 1816

My Venerated Father and Sir:

Last month I wrote Your Reverence that we had received the five cases of supplies, which you were good enough to send us, though with some damage characteristic of the calamitous times in which we live, and for which there is no other remedy but the Holy Patience.

Also our extreme need for teasels was made known to you by the statement that the people could not be clothed; and if it were not for some which the Mission of Our Father San Francisco had the charity to loan us, we would absolutely be obliged to seek alms.

The principal reason for my bothering Your Reverence by repeating such letters in case they were miscarried, is that you may please, above all, send us many, many, together with much wire and suitable pliers and other implements to make them here. All are necessary so we can return the [teasels] to those who favored us. They should come without frames, so that the freight will be less.

What about the debt of Arce? Assuming this person has money in Mexico, as Your Reverence once told me, and taking into account of the debt made to Fr. José Guilez by the same Arce, I do not understand why it is not collected.

I have a matter which Your Reverence hesitated to collect because it did not amount to enough to cover what is owed to other missions. About this, it occurs to me to tell you in regard to the Mission of Santa

Cruz, that the debt is not as great as the late Father Quintana reported to that procurement office. I myself assisted in the agreement which that Father made with him at Monterey in the year 1811; by which Arce advanced in Mexico, I do not know the amount, which the Mission of Santa Cruz was to repay to him in the following year in produce, etc., and the Father lived and died in reliance on this.

But the scoundrel Arce (according to my view) confessed to Fr. Guilez the debt for what was purchased in said year of 1811, and concealed or withdrew from the obligation contracted, as he never had the intent to perform, nor can he ever walk in California with honor because of his well remembered tricks.

And since the late Father left no document which might explain the debt with this clarification, I believe that the present Father Ministers of Santa Cruz innocently suffer under a mistake about the matter, although on several occasions I have not failed to tell them what I am now telling Your Reverence. I know nothing about the Mission of Santa Barbara, which I understand is the other creditor.

Also, the late Don Benito Diaz de la Vega, purser of the frigate "Princesa" in 1810, told me that there had been collected and delivered to Señor Zestafe, I do not remember what amount, and this is also another mystery which I do not understand. I do not know what kinds of consciences these gentlemen have who are so honorable in other respects.

Some time ago I wrote a letter to Don Juan Martiarena asking him that since I had heard that he was in charge of the interests of some missions, he might have the charity for this Mission to take over as much as possible of the assets under the control of the syndic. I am without reply from the one or the other. May the Lord Saint Joseph look upon them with mercy in the hour of death. Your Reverence might see if you can conveniently recover something, and if not, patience.

Will Your Reverence please tell the Reverend Father Guardian that this Mission has freely offered, in accordance with his intention, in the last six months of 1816 seventy-nine masses, besides the four monthly [masses] and the three for the late Commissary General, Father Fr. Pablo de Moya.

Also I have written in other [letters] that the subscription to *La Gazeta* should be suspended until it carries articles about Europe, because it is a pity to pay for the present [issues], which are worth

nothing. The general newspapers seem to be falling off. In a word, if they carry reports on the condition of Europe, let them come, but if they are taken over by the vexacious military parties of the realm, it is better if they never come, because they are irritating.

Nothing of especial novelty occurs here; only that there is much talk of receiving great assistance for this Province from Guadalajara. To this end ships are expected next Spring. May God wish this, because what has come up to now for the presidios has left them as poor as they were before.

Don Geronimo Argüello has left on the brigantine "San Carlos" for Guadalajara as Paymaster General.

Please receive the regards of my Father companion, and salute my Fathers Torrens and Casals. Command, Your Reverence, this most affectionate humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. If you can put your hand on a *Guía Eclesiastica* [Ecclesiastical Guide] of Madrid since the time of the reestablishment of Ferdinand VII,⁴⁰ we will greatly appreciate your kindness in sending it. Likewise cigars and cigarettes.

[*Rúbrica*]

Apostolic College of San Fernando. To Reverend Father Juan Norberto de Santiago, Apostolic Preacher and Procurator of the Missions. God guard him.

Mexico.

+

Long Live Jesus!

Very Reverend Fr. Norberto Santiago.

Mission of Our Lord San José

July 6, 1817

My Venerated Father and Sir:

I received your esteemed [letters] in which you send the *Santos* for this [Mission] and Santa Clara, and in which you remind me and speak of the account of Brother Don Ángel de la Cuesta. I have searched every corner of this Mission, and can find only the letter of Señor Zestafe which enclosed it. The invoice of what was shipped on the frigate "Flora" does not appear, and I do not know how I lost it; however, the enclosed [invoice] did not amount to more than one hundred and seven *pesos*, and it appeared to be in the handwriting of said Zestafe as can

be seen from the character of the signature. Furthermore, I do not seek to deny the charge, but only say that I do not remember and that Your Reverence may accept the charge which they make.

The other letter from Zestafe likewise does not appear. In it he told me he had received the document for the 888 *pesos* registered by Don Benito Díaz, who was purser of the frigate "Princesa" in the year 1810. It is probable that it was lost due to my poor understanding at the time of its future value. Because I was raised in the cloister from the age of 15 I have never up to now learned the precautions required in business. The fault lies only in my good faith, which does not allow me to think ill of any one. From now on I shall be wary, and I expect to come out an expert.

I do not recall having written that Zestafe received the document for said amount. But as I assume that Your Reverence would remember this at once from my letter, I have no doubt, Your Reverence, that it is most certain that I sent said document to Zestafe and that he acknowledged its receipt. I repeat, it is certain, and very certain. And therefore, what opinion can I form of this gentleman from what Your Reverence tells me, that having paid the firm in Tepic and delivered the accounts to Don Ángel, he has not delivered the document as it seems he should have done?

In fact, this omission, coupled with a kind of obstinacy in not rendering accounts for so many years in spite of several requests by the missions, makes me suspicious of Señor Zestafe and to rather doubt his political, civil, and Christian faith. But what can we do? No document exists here to be enforced. Thus there is no hope except perhaps in the hour of death or on the Day of Judgment, when documents will not be wanting and satisfaction had.

The 888 *pesos* were in Mexican silver *reales*, delivered in my presence and received by the late Don Benito, purser of the "Princesa," who after the recapture of that ship wrote to his brother-in-law, Don Luis Argüello, Lieutenant of the Presidio of San Francisco, who told me in his [Don Benito's] name that he recovered something of what was registered in said ship and that he had delivered it to Zestafe, and that gentleman never by word or pen gave the least information, with the result that I believed that he had informed that procurement office. About this last I shall ask the said Lieutenant for an affidavit, because the original has also been lost, and I shall send it by this post if time permits, otherwise, by the next.

If all of this is not sufficient to support a demand, we shall implore our Lord Saint Joseph to grant the favor that he should not die with stolen money.

Your Reverence has said nothing to me about the debt of Arce. It seems to me that from the documents which exist in that procurement office there is sufficient to collect at least the debt to this Mission, proven and established, in case he has some money in Mexico.

The Fathers of Santa Clara have told me that they have no confidence in Zestafe.

I have here two orders for payment, which amount to 3,000 *pesos*, which I think I shall not send until there is more hope of collecting something, or until Your Reverence shall advise.

Nothing more occurs to me. Every little while foreign ships are at Monterey, but they leave the land as poor as they found it.

Please salute Fathers Baldomero,⁴¹ Dantí,⁴² Torrens and Casals and, receiving the regards of my Father companion, command this, your most affectionate humble brother in the Lord, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. On repeated occasions I have sent word to Your Reverence that I did not wish more *Gazetas* until it shall carry articles about Europe. Neither do I want *Noticiosos* because it has had no merit from the beginning. I advise Your Reverence of this in case it has changed.

Item: Don Luis has just written me that he will look for the original letter from the late Don Benito, and if it does not appear, he will send an affidavit of exactly what he remembers was written. It will go by the next post, and if this is not enough, patience, patience, patience. The draft for 196 *pesos* which Your Reverence tells me does not appear will be replaced in due time according to what said Don Luis tells me. For God's sake, see if there can be sent to us a guide of Madrid, ecclesiastical, secular, of the time of Ferdinand VII.

July 29.

†

Long Live Jesus, Mary, Joseph!

Very Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions.

My Venerated Father and Sir:

We have received your esteemed letters of the 21st of February and

the 17th of June, last, and in reply I tell Your Reverence not to be disturbed about the cope because we can get along with it as it is.

It will be well for *Noticioso General* to come in due time in place of the vexacious gazettes of Mexico, though if there be opportunity to subscribe to those of Madrid, I would appreciate them more than all the papers of the realm.

I have in my possession the duplicate of the draft for 196 *pesos* etc., of December 31, 1810. I will send it when there is time.

The need for teasels is not so great at present, because a foreign ship which has touched at these ports has supplied us, but with poor quality. But do not fail to send [them] in the first shipment, and lots of wire.

It is well that demand be made of Arce when possible. But it seems to me that from the outset it should be intimated that he is obligated to pay the expenses that have been and will be incurred, because his bad faith has caused it all, and it would not be just for the Mission to be put to expense to collect a legitimate debt.

By an earlier post I sent Your Reverence what I could find relative to Señor Zestafe, and Your Reverence should not hope that I can send more. We will accept the settlement which the gentleman shall determine.

There is rumor here that nine missions will be turned over to the College of Orizaba. This news (which may God wish, is true) deserves reception and publication by a general pealing of bells and a triple salvo of artillery, because it brings encouragement to the general hopes of the Californians. Some feel that only four or six should be ceded, because the College of San Fernando is indeed recognized as having the future ability to sustain missions in the immense vineyard in this Province. From this Mission, alone, northward to the Columbia there are infinite multitudes ready for conversion.

There is not much provincial news. A meeting was held at San Buenaventura at the request of the governor with absurd (it appears) proposals.⁴³ I am not well informed, but it seems that this gentleman notified the meeting that the allowances for the four presidios must come from the produce of the Province itself, to spare the royal funds, which in other words, means that it may cost the missions more than 100,000 *pesos* each year. What an enormous absurdity!

Furthermore, the Father Prefect has been asked for 16,000 *arrobas* of tallow, which amounts to 24,000 *pesos*. I do not know what will be

left. The simple fact is that all of the talk is on behalf of the troops, and not everyone believes it.

The College should be forewarned of this matter, bearing in mind that the missionaries have never refused the great sacrifices which have been exacted, with only due regard for the interests of the poor neophytes, who can only be called vassals, because they are learning that there is one God and one King. If the present governor has met with any resistance, it is because he had departed from the good manners and prudent consideration of his predecessors, who did not demand, but asked for what they needed.

I repeat that the College should be forewarned so that it may have some representation in time.

Also many ships have arrived from Lima. At present there are three.⁴⁴ But they fleece us by high prices. The foreigners (who also come frequently) are always cheaper, but they will receive only sea otter [pelts] or money, and trade is permitted only with the *comandantes*. I am speaking of closed ports such as San Francisco and Monterey.⁴⁵

In short, many ships, but the land is always poor.

May all go happily with Your Reverence, and receiving the remembrances of my Father companion, command this, your most affectionate [one], who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

Mission of Our Lord San José

October 15, 1817

P.S. The Father Prefect has finally informed us that the cession of the nine missions of the South is certain. What a pity they are not those of the North! Because thereby I could have more hope of relief from this burden which crushes me.

Apostolic College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Fr. Norberto de Santiago, Apostolic Preacher and Procurator of the Missions. God guard him.

Mexico.

[Annotated:] Enter action on the draft of December 31, 1810, no. 6 for 196 pesos 3 reales and 8 cuartillos, mentioned at the beginning [of this letter.]

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Long Live Jesus!

Fr. José Guilez.

My Esteemed Brother:

I have received your appreciated letter of the 28th of last January, together with the *Santos* and *Bulas*⁴⁶ for the two.

I am informed of what you tell me about the 888 *pesos* of Señor Zestafe. Because no document exists, it is clear that the Mission would lose in any tribunal of men, but I greatly fear that said Señor or the late Don Benito shall end up charged with them in the Tribunal of God. I remember well that the latter made known to me through his brother-in-law, Don Luis Argüello, that said amount had been recovered, and that he had delivered it to Zestafe. I trusted so much in his public good faith that I did not take care to inform anyone, and was less careful in requiring documents to send to the Procurator, thinking that good faith obliged Zestafe to take care of its spontaneously. I also see that Don Benito could write one thing and do another. And thus, as you well say, what is lost, is lost. With this I can on my part say to Don Ángel, never mind, the matter is closed.

I say the same about the sum which the frigate "Flora" carried, in which the error of Señor Zestafe is clearly seen, and so there is no more to be said about this.

Nothing new occurs here. Please salute the Father Procurator, and command this your most affectionate humble brother in the Lord, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

Mission of Our Lord San José May 26, 1818

College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. Norberto de Santiago, Apostolic Preacher and Council Assistant. God guard him.
Mexico.

+

Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator.

Mission of Our Lord San José July 26, 1818

My Venerated Father and Sir:

Your appreciated letter of March 11 of the present year has been

received, in which you inform me that you have in mind sending teasels, wire, etc., upon the next collection from Arce, and request of me the duplicate draft of 1810 for 196 pesos, 3 reales, and 8 cuartillos, which I enclose for Your Reverence to present. I still have here two others amounting to 3,000 pesos; the one for last year is missing. These I will send when Your Reverence requests them.

I can think of nothing more to say to Your Reverence except to beg, when God permits that my supplies may be sent, you forward to this Mission a Spanish dictionary by the *Academia Española*. It will be greatly appreciated.

Nothing more suggests itself. If anything occurs I will tell you in the future. Please give my greetings to my Fathers Torrens and Casals, and command, Your Reverence, this your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. I would also greatly appreciate a volume of the doctrines of Parra, though it be old.⁴⁷ It is desired with annotations.

[*Rúbrica*]

[Endorsed:] Received on Dec. 6, answered on the 16th of said month, 1818.

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Jesus Mary Joseph

Reverend Father Procurator Fr. Juan Cortés.

My Venerated Father and Sir:

Sapientis (et insipientis) est mutare consilium. Under a date which I do not remember, I wrote to Your Reverence three or four posts ago, asking you to take the trouble to provide an organ for this church according to the conditions or explanations there stated. But later, upon considering the complications of those [conditions or explanations], and for other reasons, such as the many steps and actions Your Reverence would have to take, with perhaps a result not to our liking, and perhaps leaving us with a useless failure, I have decided by this letter to beg Your Reverence to forgive the annoyance of my volubility and to be kind enough to postpone the matter until times and circumstances are better, in case God shall wish them to become better.

I assume that Your Reverence is not yet committed as this is a matter which would require time.

During this Holy Week we received from the Prefectural Chapter news of the inundation of the College, and likewise that the Fathers are traveling to San Blas. May God wish with all goodness that the latter be true, because, greatly disheartened by many things, many desire to be relieved.

The condition of this Province is just so-so. It is sustained by hopes of help and supplies which never appear. The misery and unhappiness of the people has reached the greatest degree. The good fortune is that there is no foreign influx, and the land is left to itself. If this were not so it would be lost.

May all go happily with Your Reverence, and command this your most affectionate humble brother in the Lord, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

San José April 10, 1820

P.S. I overlooked asking the favor of Your Reverence to send us a contra bass viol, that is, one of those large ones, the player of which must stand, with good tones etc., and also four regular violins, with good rolls of bass strings for both instruments.

Apostolic College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Fr. Juan Cortés, Apostolic Preacher and Council Assistant whom God guards.

Procurator of the Missions.

Mexico.

[Endorsed:] Answered on August 16, 1820.

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Long Live Jesus!

Reverend Father Procurator Fr. Juan Cortés.

My Esteemed Father and Sir:

In spite of having asked for an organ two or three posts ago, I wrote to Your Reverence revoking the request because there had certainly arisen fear and trepidation in acquiring perhaps a costly and useless failure. Now that I have received the letter of Your Reverence of the 21st of last June, I cannot deny that my heart has been encouraged, and

my desires have been renewed to provide the ultimate assistance to divine worship in this church by the use of said instrument.

I have been filled with pleasure by the efficiency of Your Reverence, the labor of Fr. José Guilez, and the kindly compliance of our brother Don José Joaquín Pérez de Lara, all of which leaves me most grateful and I humbly tender the most affectionate thanks.

In consequence of this, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, of Jesus, Mary, and of Our Titular Lord, Saint Joseph, Patron and Protector of this Mission, I am decided firmly and irrevocably that the organ shall be made, with some small adjustments or suggestions which I shall explain, and I beg that I be permitted to have all of them, but, as is just, subject to your proper suggestions.

In the first place, at the time I wrote asking for an instrument for a church of the depth of 60 *varas*, I was thinking of lengthening it to this measurement for the greater convenience of the people, but we have decided that it be left at 45 or 50, which it now measures, and so from this measurement the height of the organ can be figured out.

2nd. The pitch of the organ must necessarily, under penalty of not being useful, be at least one good full tone below the usual ones of our choirs, because the Indians of this Mission generally have poor voice strength to reach and carry high notes. My opinion is that it should have a pitch which will conveniently permit the accompaniment by violins without having to tighten the strings forcibly.

And 3rd. I am content with only three stops, that is: a flute stop for singing and carrying the voices; a full stop for accompanying the Psalms and for offertories on less formal days; and a bugle stop for solemn and major celebrations—all of good timbre which can well, well, fill the whole body of the church, so that it can be well heard and distinguished although thirty or forty boys may be singing.

Consequently, with regard to a cornet stop, my opinion is that it should not be installed; and with regard to increasing the bugle a fifteenth interval, and the *Trompa Magna*, if they are not absolutely necessary for good full basses, which I very much want, I would also like to omit them because I would like to save a hundred *pesos* and that the total cost shall not exceed seven hundred *pesos*. I beg, as I have begged of Brother Don José, that if it is possible without prejudice to this Mission and church of his Holy Patron, who is a good payer in the hour of death, for which [favor] I religiously promise to remember his piety whenever I hear the organ played.

May said Brother forgive me for not using the terminology of his specialty, because I am not a master, but an amateur who aspires to accommodate the singing of the choir and the music of the violins to the organ, and as, thanks to the Lord, I have succeeded in this without being a master; I hope to succeed equally in the other.

Nothing more occurs to me to suggest, and what is lacking will be supplied with the energy of an amateur and the intelligence of the master.

We now turn to the wise observations expressed by Your Reverence about present times and circumstances. I say it is very prudent, during the uncertainty of the political government, for us to remain under cover and without raising a hand until we can see that things are going to take on a favorable and durable aspect. Because, if this government is to fail or to stagnate either because of new revolutions (as I greatly fear) or new dispositions (as Your Reverence with good reasons conjectures), why should we go forward? In the former case, it is useless; in the latter, let others do it. But if public opinion promotes confidence and stability in the government, to work! Especially when the hope of sending the first supplies shines through.

I would also like Your Reverence to do the favor (in case the Fathers shall come) of sending us the silver censer which I believe will be in that procurement office, and which they may be kind enough to bring in the trunk. This seems to me to be a matter of little inconvenience, and we shall appreciate it very much. I hope that Your Reverence will arrange this if you conveniently can.

I appreciate very much the political news which Your Reverence provided. All of the Fathers of the neighboring missions have read it, including your friend Father Estevan Tapis. For my part, I have made up my mind to end my days in this Province, but I would like better to end them in San Fernando if times should be more restful.

If by chance some paper should come worthy of reading, or that gives light on the political future, do not lose the opportunity to send it, because we should be concerned because it is so united with religion. May all go as well with Your Reverence and your assistant, Fr. José Guilez, as is desired for you both by this your most affectionate humble brother in the Lord, who kisses the hands of both of you.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

Mission San José

January 7, 1821

P.S. Many regards from my Father companion, Fr. Ventura, and mine, to Brother Don José Joaquín. Likewise to Fathers Torrens and Casals, my remembrances, and [tell them] I do not write because of lack of time. I am always hoping for their letters, and they have not written for several posts.

To the Reverend Father Fr. Juan Cortés, Apostolic Preacher, Council Assistant and Procurator of the Missions, God guard him.

San Fernando, Mexico.

3 [Postal mark in red oil ink]

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Jesus Mary Joseph

Reverend Father Procurator Fr. Juan Cortés.

Mission San José

March 11, 1821

My Esteemed Father and Sir:

I received your appreciated letter of the 14th of last August about postponing the [subject of the] organ, in reply to my letter which dealt with the suggested matter. In this present letter I say that I wholly reaffirm what I wrote two or three posts back, so that the construction of said instrument may be accomplished so that it can be sent if circumstances shall take on a favorable aspect, and that so long as uncertainty about them shall endure we will remain under cover until the political horizon, so obscured by the black clouds which cover it, is cleared. In a word: there will be no change, but every day said instrument is more desired and also that the first opportunity to get at the work should be availed of, and above all, that it may turn out rich, sonorous and fine in tones, with only three stops, flute, full, and bugle, and one tone lower than the ordinary, as was explained in said previous letter, because the throats of the Indians are not capable of producing the higher tones. All of this I hope for from the efficiency of Your Reverence and the goodness of the master, Brother Don José, whose judgment correctly should always prevail over mine.

We greatly appreciate the political news which Your Reverence gives, and certainly the matter is badly tangled. It is now eight days since the constitution was sworn to in this [Mission]. Four copies of this oath must be sent, three for the Viceroy and one for the Bishop.⁴⁸ At this date we know nothing of the result of the first Cortés,⁴⁹ while

Your Reverences are already informed of everything. We expect it by April or May. We are all going on presumptions. Some think that the temporalities of the Indians will pass into alien hands, and that the Missionaries will be left without a mouthful of bread in reward for their labors. Others think that the Indians will be emancipated, and it is believed that they are not ready for this, nor that they ever will be, unless new missions are founded on the flank of the old ones. Still others [believe] that obligations will be imposed which the missions cannot discharge, because they require that these [missions] must sustain the Province as it was previously sustained by the King, without realizing that the missions are sustained, almost miraculously, by virtue of the economy and diligence of the missionaries. In the end, each thinks with his own head, and therefore we anxiously await the May post to relieve us of all these doubts. May God dispose what is most suitable to His greater glory and the welfare of these unfortunates, and not allow the unfounded envy of men to squander in a day fifty years of sweat, and afterwards we may find ourselves as in Sierra Gorda.⁵⁰

If the gazettes contain political news and not purely military views as before, I would appreciate (if it is possible) receiving a subscription.

May all go happily with Your Reverence and your Father companion, Fr. José Guilez, whom I salute. And receiving regards from me and my Father companion, command, Your Reverence, your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

Apostolic College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Fr. Juan Cortés, Council Assistant and Procurator of the Missions.

God guard him.

Mexico.

+

Jesus Mary Joseph

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Juan Cortés.

Mission of Our Lord San José

April 22, 1825

My Venerated Father and Sir:

By virtue of the presence at this Mission of Don Enrique Virmont [Virmond], Master of the brigantine "Maria Estlica" [sic, for Ester],

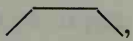
a German by birth, but holding a certificate of Mexican citizenship, a gentleman entirely worthy of my confidence, and I justly hope of all the missionary Fathers of this Province, there has befallen me the opportunity of bringing in his ship, in the coming year, from the Port of Acapulco, all that Your Reverence may please to send us from the Capital. Said gentleman agrees to advance the entire amount which Your Reverence may need for the purpose, [payment] for which we have arranged here with him, to be made in tallow and hides, which are the principal items of production of the missions.

By virtue of this, the first [item] of our desires is a high altar of sculpture or carved wood, with the dimensions and qualities or details which I am going to explain.

The retable should be six and a quarter *varas* wide, and eight *varas* and a quarter high, with three orders or levels of columns. Four large [columns] in the first lowest level, four more medium in the middle level, and two small ones in the top order or level. If I have time I shall accompany this with a plan, not for Your Reverence to be rigorously controlled by, but to serve as an idea. No altar table is to come, because there is one which (as I remember the late Father Viñals, God possess him, writing me) is identical with that of the altar of Santa Faustina in that College. And from the plan⁵¹ of that [altar] the construction of the retable can be designed, as seems best to Your Reverence, according to said dimensions.

Reckoning with the length and height of the table of Santa Faustina, may Your Reverence be good enough to arrange that a step, perhaps two, be constructed with a tabernacle in the center. Next, the first order of large columns with an image of the Most Holy Virgin, a *vara* and a half upon a pedestal in the niche in the middle, and on each side, the Holy Archangels Michael and Raphael with their corresponding niches, somewhat smaller than the central one.

In the second order of columns, a niche two *varas* high for the titular saint (which need not be made, because there is one here already), again with a niche to each side, somewhat smaller, for their corresponding images of Saint Joachim and Saint Anne; and finally, the top order of two columns with only one ordinary niche with the image of Saint Peter the Apostle, garbed and seated in Pontifical chair, with the insignia of the keys, etc.

And, as the ceiling in this church is eight sided; in this form , it would be convenient that the retable more or less end in a similar

shape, or as shall seem better to Your Reverence in accord with Don Enrique and the artisan, because the said gentleman has provided the idea in part, and has taken the measurements, and as the artisan has, I assume, the skill of his art, it would be well if Your Reverence would be good enough to decide among the three what shall be deemed most appropriate. In regard to color, marbling, gilding, moulding, and the other decorations, they may be done with complete liberty, assured of complete agreement on our part.

I would much like to avail myself of this occasion to have two side altar retables come with altar tables with a single order of columns and three niches in each one, but for the present I refrain from such presumption, because I consider the great cost it would bear, together with the land and maritime freight, and which perhaps this Mission could not pay in two years. I am content for now with the large retable, and if we live, we will see what time shall give us.

I also ask Your Reverence, to send us a white chasbule, but proper, which is fitting for Easters, Corpus [Christi], and Christmases, and with the most beautiful brocade that can be found. If any pieces of lace and lining are left over they should come, for they are greatly needed to fix up a chasbule which, because it is too short, we have regretfully kept almost without use. It does not matter if it is somewhat different (because there is no sample which can be sent to you). By altering it about the shoulders, the symmetry will cover the defect.

Here the old ideas about the organ are resurrected in my mind, but what has been said is enough for now, and let us be patient.

I will rejoice that all may go happily with Your Reverence, and receiving the regards of my Father Ventura, see in what way you can accommodate your most affectionate humble brother, who in the Lord, loves you and kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán
[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. I permit myself to ask Your Reverence for a good contra bass viol, of good body, of which Don Enrique Virmond is informed. I ask Your Reverence for this most earnestly, and for a good supply of strings and rosin. I want it even more than the retable, inasmuch as I have asked for it for many years from every source, and they never understand me, because they always send me violins instead of a contra bass viol. I do not make a sketch, because it always came out imperfectly, and it does not seem necessary to me. Item on the next page. It seems to me advis-

able for Your Reverence to inform himself about land freightage so that it can be determined what is more reasonable, and I shall appreciate your sending me by ordinary post a statement of the total cost.

Farewell

To the Reverend Father Procurator of the Missions, Fr. Juan Cortés, Apostolic Preacher, whom may God guard.

[Endorsed:] Received on August 31, 1825—answered on September 22, *id.*

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Jesus Mary Joseph

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Juan Cortés.

San José

May 24, 1825

My Venerated Father and Sir:

Under date of last April 22, I informed Your Reverence of the agreement made with Don Enrique Virmond, German by birth, Mexican citizen, and master of the brigantine, "Maria Ester," which has been cruising this coast for the purpose of trade, and it appears, with commissions from the general government, about a retable for the high altar of this church in the form and arrangement as stated in the letter of said date and which said gentleman is to deliver to Your Reverence, promising to pay all that is necessary, and later when he returns, this Mission will reimburse him in products for the cost, and also about a proper white chasuble, and a bass viol, large, and good, with a good supply of rosin and strings of all sizes, all as is more fully set forth in said letter. This and a note for Reverend Father Torrens go enclosed in another to the Very Reverend Father Guardian, in which I inform that prelate that the Presidency has fallen to me, with the office of vicar-forane combined with it, by direction of the Most Illustrious Bishop of Sonora; and a short exposition of our state and circumstances in regard to the oath to the Mexican Federal Constitution, which has been demanded of us and which we have refused by the example of our Reverend Father Prefect, concerning which, protests of this government are now going to that of Mexico. It is probable that Your Reverence will learn the results of this before we do.

In regard to the retable, I repeat that an altar table should not come, because there is an identical one in the altar of Santa Faustina of that College, as I remember the late Father Procurator wrote at one time.

And from the design of that of Santa Faustina an altar can be planned with three orders of columns with the *Santos* placed as stated in the first letter, which I believe was: in the lower order the Most Holy Virgin, a *vara* and a half tall and as its companions, Saint Michael and Saint Raphael. In the second [order] Saint Joachim and Saint Anne as companions to Lord Saint Joseph (the one that is here, a little less than two *varas*); and in the third, Saint Peter seated in the center on the papal throne with the appropriate papal insignia. The overall height of the altar, it seems to me, should not be more than eight *varas* (I do not recall if there is an additional one fourth [*vara*]), and the width, I believe, is six and a fourth *varas*.

For the present, I have nothing to add or subtract from what has already been said, and I only beg Your Reverence that in agreement with the said gentleman, you proceed without anxiety, and as shall seem best. I shall always prefer the judgment of Your Reverence, and promise our agreement with whatever form in which it shall come. We are aware that it is impossible for our desire to be served because of the great distance, and it is enough to assume the greatest intention to proceed skillfully, which we take as a matter of course. Therefore, my Father Procurator, to work if possible, with the spiritual joy of serving God and the great Patriarch, Saint Joseph.

I have already said that Don Enrique has offered to advance what may be needed, and that we will repay him here. I request Your Reverence to send me the statement of all expenses, which I await. I trust that it can be concluded in three or four months, and that the said gentleman can bring it in his ship next year. I do not know what the College may have done with so much wood from the old altars which reached to the sky. If perchance they should be dismantled, and they can be adapted to the design of the altar, do not overlook me. And the Mission could contribute some pecuniary alms to the community. But as it seems those old altars are all gilded, and that the new ones made today appear to be marbleized, I doubt that they can be considered for the sake of economy in cost. Finally, Your Reverence may do what shall appear best to you since the matter is left absolutely to your discretion. Nothing further occurs to me about the matter.

Here we have had the novelty of the appearance of the Spanish war-ship "Asia,"⁵² and one or two brigantines which were at first treated with some misgiving, but it soon passed, because it was learned that the crews had mutinied in the *Islas Marianas* against the officers, of whom

they spoke in a most evil manner, and had left ashore. They named a new commander and officers *de plebe pauperum*, and came to Monterey to recognize the independence [of Mexico], and to take on supplies charged to the Mexican nation, under parole or oath to go to Acapulco to deliver the ships to the Mexican Government. How about it? What faithful servants of Ferdinand VII!

It is to be expected that so important an event would be quickly communicated to the public, and so I do not expand the minor details. The substance, which is quite certain, seems to me sufficient. Some suspect that they will not go to Acapulco, because they very much repent the act (and it seems certain), but others say, wherever they are to go, how are they to be pardoned? What may happen will be talked about.

I beg you to share this [news] and also this entire letter, if you wish, with the Very Reverend Father Guardian and Father Torrens, which will save me the work of sending it in duplicate or triplicate when there is no great need therefore. I add that since April last, inclusive, I offered eight masses, exclusive of the more than four monthly ones, for the College, and I shall continue, God willing, while my health remains. There were four, after what month I do not remember. About this you can be governed by what I have already written. In addition, from April on, there are eight.

Nothing else occurs to me now. It may be that the same warship, "Asia," may be the bearer of this letter, and thus this letter could arrive before the one mentioned of an earlier date, for because of the Spanish ships, the "Maria Ester" has been detained in the harbor of San Francisco and will still have to cruise the coast and therefore will arrive later. But in such case Your Reverence can await receipt of the other letter to be fully informed about the retable.

Please give my regards to the Very Reverend Father Guardian and to the Reverend Fathers Torrens, Dñtí, and Casals, and receiving them for Your Reverence, likewise, from my Father Ventura see in what way you may accommodate this, your most affectionate humble brother who, in the Lord, esteems Your Reverence and kisses his hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. This goes in an envelope of the Honorable Administrator General of Mails, pursuant to the suggestion of the Very Reverend Father Guardian.

Item. If because of our refusal to take the oath, there should be some great change among us, I count on the foresight of Your Reverence in discontinuing the commissions as your prudence shall dictate. Please tell my Father Torrens that all await his letters with eagerness, and we have not received any for a considerable time. I do not write him to avoid making this too bulky.

[Endorsed:] Received on Aug. 31, 1825.

†

Jesus Mary Joseph

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Juan Cortés.

Our Lord San José

March 7, 1826

My Very Venerated Father and Sir:

I received Your Reverence's letter by this last post. I do not remember its date. It dealt with the side altar. And in view of the difficulties, scarcity, uncertainties, and risks of the times in which we live, I am content that no more be said about this side altar, which after all is not of necessity, and may God and the Holy Patriarch be pleased with our good wish and good will. I wish only that Your Reverence, when you have the opportunity, will do me the favor of sending me a supply of heavy violin strings, that is, if you conveniently can, and can find someone who will pay for them and receive their value here in hides and tallow. If it cannot be, Your Reverence is not to worry.

Through the brother sindic of Tepic I have received the official letters of the Reverend Father Guardian relating to the plan of Señor Tamariz, all of which I have sent to the Reverend Father Prefect who has been in this land waiting for the two months they have allowed him to see if he will take the oath, from which he is more removed than ever, and to whom it seems we are perhaps all following *nec duobus exceptis*. Consequently, may Your Reverence consider us already dead, and we only ask of you your prayers to the Lord. It is He who causes us to fear entering into an oath to a government with which we are in continuous contact, and whose burdens bring us to the verge of desperation. The choir and the cell are not the same as California. Whenever they put me in the College, I will swear; but not as a missionary, because one could not have peace internally or externally.

I write no more for lack of time as we are in Lent and I am alone in the Mission with more work away from home because of the sick ones.

Please, Your Reverence, salute the Very Reverend Father Guardian and Fathers Torrens and Casals, and order, Your Reverence, as you wish, this, your most affectionate humble brother, who in the Lord venerates and esteems you and kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. After enclosing this I opened it to beg Your Reverence that this Mission may share the newspaper which comes to Santa Clara, if there are means to pay for it.

[*Rúbrica*]

Apostolic College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Fr. Juan Cortés, Apostolic Preacher and Procurator of the Missions. God guard him.

Mexico.

[*Postal mark*] 3

[Endorsed:] Received on Sept. 7, 1826,—answered on the 8th of said month. [and] Replied that the bass strings will be sent if there is an opportunity, or will write to Tepic to send them. Item: In December “La Aguila” will be shared with San Francisco and Santa Clara.

†

Jesus Mary Joseph

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Juan Cortés.

San José

April 26, 1826

My Esteemed and Venerated Father and Sir:

I received the appreciated letter of Your Reverence of the 29th of October, and am content with what you tell me about the side-altar.

I have already written by the last post that we are not thinking about this further, and I now repeat the same, because the times and circumstances are not [favorable] for this, which I also say to the Very Reverend Father Guardian.

We consider ourselves on the verge of leaving all of this, because, even after seeing the circular of the Venerable Discretorium, the general opinion is not to swear to the Mexican Constitution, even

though since as it is said, the Roman Pontiff has recognized independence, there may be some change of mind. But California with military despotism is not for apostolic missionaries.

Up to now I have not received any letter that has been opened, and do not know where the offence of opening the letters which go from here is committed.

I wrote to the Very Reverend Father Guardian about the past offence and sacrilegious insult committed by Señor Echeandía⁵³ against Father Fernando Martín⁵⁴ in San Diego, on Passion Sunday, *inter Missarum Solemnia*. If said gentleman does not give prompt satisfaction for the scandal, it could be a considerable and noisy affair.

Receive, Your Reverence, the regards of my Father Ventura, who happens to be here for a few days while he is acting as minister at San Juan [Bautista], and I am alone, filled with disconsolateness. May all go happily with Your Reverence, and command as you wish, your most affectionate humble brother, who humbly kisses your hand.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. If the means are at hand, I wish that Your Reverence may be good enough to allow this Mission to share the newspaper which comes to Santa Clara.

Apostolic College of San Fernando.

To the Reverend Father Fr. Juan Cortés, Apostolic Preacher and Procurator of the Missions.

God guard him.

Mexico.

[Post mark] 3. Loreto, 3 *reales*.

[Endorsed:] Received on the 1st of December, 1826—answered on the 6th of the same month.

+

Jesus Mary Joseph

San José

June 8, 1827

Reverend Father Procurator, Fr. Juan Cortés.

My Venerated Father and Sir:

I enclose for Your Reverence the list of Missionary Fathers for the period from the 1st of October of 1824 to the same date in 1825, certi-

fied by the governor, who then was Don Luis Argüello. The list pertaining to the year 1825-26 has been in the possession of the General for three weeks since certification was asked, and it has not yet appeared, and it is likely that it will never appear. I will not press for it, and by a later post I shall send another not certified.

Also, there will go in the earliest posts the annual reports, which are now being prepared.

There is something in the way of surprise here due to the appearance of American expeditionaries.⁵⁵

It is said that these are only commercial expeditions for hunting beaver, without political purposes. May God wish it so, and time will tell.

May all go well, and command your most affectionate humble brother, who kisses the hand of Your Reverence.

Fr. Narciso Durán

[*Rúbrica*]

P.S. Please tell Father Torrens that I received his of the 13th of February.

[Endorsed:] Received on the 24th of September, 1827. Answered on the 3rd of October, 1827.

NOTES

40. King of Spain from March, 1808, when his father, Carlos IV, abdicated, to June, 1808, when he was captured by Napoleon. Napoleon named his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain and the Indies; however, in California and elsewhere in Spanish America Joseph was never recognized. On March 5, 1809, Ferdinand VII seems to have received the formal allegiance of California so far as it could be rendered by the presidio garrisons and mission guards; salutes were fired and church services held in his honor. On the 10th of August Governor Arrillaga, placing one hand on the Bible and the other on the cross of his sword, knelt before the crucifix and swore loyalty to Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand was released in 1814, at the end of the Napoleonic era, and returned to the throne. (*ibid.*, II:87-8).

41. Doubtless Fr. Baldomero López, who came to California in 1791 and served at Santa Gruz until 1786; at the College he was *discreto* in 1815 and Guardian in 1818 and 1824.

42. Fr. Antonio Dantí, also a former California missionary, was master of novices in 1802, *discreto* in 1803 and 1821, and vicar in 1822.

43. For several years the governor had been making excessive demands upon the missions for food, clothing, and supplies for the presidios. In 1817 the friars began to resent the extent of these demands, and a meeting was called by Governor Solá, at which he further outlined his demands. One can see from Fr. Durán's letter what the missionaries thought of the governor's requests. Prefect Sarria was ultimately able to get the governor to reduce some of them.

44. Probably the "San Antonio" and the "Hermosa Mexicana." A third ship, the "Cazadora," arrived from Panama in 1817 (*ibid.*, II:215).

45. Governor Solá, anxious about the weakness of the California coast defenses, had issued orders restricting trade. When the Lima ships failed to arrive in 1815 and 1816, however, he relented and began to barter with the captains of arriving ships for needed goods.

46. This usage is not in the usual form. It may be evidence of Durán's sense of humor, *Bulas*, according to a contemporary Mexican dictionary, are "letras apostólicas despachados en la curia romana." Certainly no such documents were required for the two images. Could Durán be playfully referring to the statement of their cost?

47. An 18th century work by Fr. Pedro José de Parras regarding the government of members of religious orders.

48. Any change in the government evidently made it necessary for new oaths to be sworn, and four years later Fr. Durán wrote, "being tired of so many oaths, I am not inclined to take more oaths, not from disaffection for the independence . . . but because it seems that oaths have become playthings."

49. The first congress under Iturbide. It proclaimed the independence of Mexico in February, 1821.

50. A mission field in southern San Luis Potosí and northern Guanajuato and Queretaro, in which secularization had been tried in the mid-18th century. The results are related in Richman's *California under Spain and Mexico*: "... in the Sierra Gorda, during the period of control of the temporalities by *caudillos*, *capitanes*, y *thenientes*, the Indians were made house-servants, *vaqueros*, etc., without pay, and . . . the secular officers appropriated the mission lands to their own uses, etc., with the result that the neophytes either fled to the hills or became *brancos* (morose) and discontented (p. 411, n. 17). "... in 1747, in the Sierra Gorda, under Lieutenant-General José de Escandón, it had been found necessary, after five or six years of secular control of temporalities, to intrust to the Franciscans both temporalities and spiritualities . . ." (p. 93).

51. Perhaps the plan mentioned in Note 10.

52. Of 70 guns and 400 men, commanded by José Martínez.

53. José Echeandía, Governor of Upper California from 1825 to 1831 and again from 1831 to 1833. He favored secularization of the missions and made a

few attempts toward accomplishing that end (Bancroft, *History of California*, II:788).

54. A Spanish friar who served at San Diego until his death in 1838. He may have served as scribe for Fr. Durán on occasion (*ibid.*, III:619).

55. Jedediah Smith and his trapping company, the first Anglo-Americans to reach California by land. On Smith's first expedition into California, in 1826, he and his party were cordially received at Mission San Gabriel. The friars provided the explorers with food, wine, and cloth to replace their tattered shirts. However, after six weeks of inactivity the mountain men became restive and created a disturbance which strained their relationship with the padres. In an effort to gain permission to carry out his hunting activities, Smith went to San Diego to see Governor Echeandía. The Governor refused to grant his official approval, and relented only to the extent of issuing passports to Smith and his men, allowing them to leave California by the route over which they had come. In January of 1827 the party left, but after accompanying his men to Utah, Smith turned around and returned to California with eighteen companions. The party was ambushed by Mojave Indians and ten men were killed before the California border was reached. The remainder arrived at Mission San Gabriel, and Smith went on to Mission San José in search of assistance. However, upon arrival there he was "lodged in a most uncomfortable jail" by Fr. Durán, who believed that Smith had enticed away some of his neophytes. After a time Smith reached Monterey where he found Governor Echeandía incensed over his return to California. The Governor threatened to send Smith to Mexico to stand trial, but hide and tallow men came to the rescue and persuaded Echeandía to allow the trappers to depart. (Caughey, *California*, 222-29.)

The Bank of Italy and the 1926 Campaign in California

By RUSSELL M. POSNER

(To be continued)

DURING THE PROSPEROUS 1920's, there was an enormous growth of branch banking in California. The Bank of Italy (renamed Bank of America in 1930) was the only institution to attempt a statewide coverage. Its swift rise under A. P. Giannini's direction led to opposition from independent banks and rival branch systems. The efforts of the Bank of Italy to expand provoked a controversy that involved the legislature, the courts, and finally the governor of the state. The branch banking issue played an important role in the gubernatorial election of 1926; the result of which had fateful consequences for California finance.¹

As early as 1909, statewide branch banking was permitted by law but few banks immediately took advantage of the situation. It was only after 1920 that the adding of branches became a significant feature of California banking. In 1920, there were only 179 branch offices in the state. By 1930, the number was 853. Branches in 1920 constituted 19% of all banking offices in California. By 1930, 66% of the total banking offices were branches. Meanwhile, the number of banks operating in the state declined, as a result of sales, mergers, and consolidations, from 732 in 1921 to 455 in 1929.

Even in the 1920's the pattern of expansion for most banks was still a cautious one. National banks were denied the right to start branches until 1922 and then were permitted branch offices only on a limited scale until 1927. For most state banks, branch banking merely consisted of setting up additional offices in their home cities. In this period, there were only three regional banking systems; two in southern California and one in northern California. The Pacific Southwest Trust and Savings Bank under Henry M. Robinson and the Security Trust and Savings Bank under Joseph F. Sartori established branch banking systems

in the trade area around Los Angeles. The Mercantile Trust Company (later renamed the American Trust Company) under John S. Drum operated branches in the trade area around San Francisco.

Only one bank in California attempted to cover the entire state with branch offices. This was the Bank of Italy, a state bank in San Francisco, under the dynamic leadership of Amadeo Peter Giannini (1870-1949). Giannini, a native Californian of Genoese ancestry, wanted to establish branches in every county of the state. He was a firm believer in the financial advantages of a unified statewide system of branch banks. Giannini even looked forward to the coming of national branch banking and said to a Congressional Committee in 1930:

I would make it [branch banking] nationwide and worldwide. It is coming, gentlemen, and you cannot stop it, and you are bucking up against a stone wall if you try. You cannot keep village blacksmiths, stage drivers, and wagon makers in the game.²

After World War I, Giannini began to acquire offices all over the state, either by purchase of existing banks or by building new branches. He was able, resourceful, and had the good fortune to build a banking empire during a period of great prosperity in the state. At the start of 1919, Giannini had 24 banking offices in 18 California cities and towns. Eight years later, in the spring of 1927, the Bank of Italy had 278 banking offices in 164 California communities. In 1920, Giannini controlled only 2.9% of the banking offices of the state. By 1930, the number had climbed to 35% of the total banking offices.

The rapid expansion of the Bank of Italy led to opposition of varying degrees from three banking groups. One antagonistic group consisted of small independent banks that were subject to strong competition from the Bank of Italy. The small bankers formed an association in 1922, the California League of Independent Bankers, to oppose the spread of branch banking. Bankers in the interior valleys of the state were particularly active in this group. The independent bankers charged the Bank of Italy with seeking a financial monopoly in the state and using tactics of intimidation to acquire banks. These allegations remained unproven and were vigorously denied by the Bank of Italy. A second group in opposition was the southern California branch bankers who opposed the intrusion of a northern California banking system in their area. The Los Angeles branch banker, Joseph Sartori, wrote to the Superintendent of Banks in 1921: "Without question, there are plenty of banks in Los Angeles with a great sufficiency of bankers ca-

pable to establish and operate all the banks necessary in this city and are doing so."³ The last group were the national banks in San Francisco and Los Angeles who tended to be in opposition since they were by law limited in their participation in branch banking.

The office of the State Superintendent of Banks became the focal point in the branch banking controversy. On November 8, 1921, after conferences with various banking groups, Superintendent Jonathan S. Dodge issued a new regulation, the famous *de novo* rule. Henceforth, branches could normally only be obtained through the purchase of existing banks. The Superintendent would not approve the opening of any newly built (*de novo*) branch offices outside the home city of a bank, except for unusual cases where it could be shown that "public advantage and convenience" would be served thereby.

The independent bankers favored the rule because it would restrict branch banking and prevent the big institutions from compelling the sale of a small bank by threatening to create a *de novo* branch as a competitor. The southern California branch bankers favored the rule because it would tend to limit the expansion of the Bank of Italy below the Tehachapi Mountains. The rule would bar from the area any northern California bank, unless the institution could buy local banks. In the Los Angeles area, there were few independent banks available for purchase and the expanding suburban districts were serviced by newly built offices of the Los Angeles branch banks.

Many years later, A. P. Giannini's son, Mario, claimed that the *de novo* rule "was instigated at the suggestion of Mr. Sartori," since Dodge and Sartori were good friends.⁴ Vice President James A. Bacigalupi made a similar charge in 1930 when he said "our competitors got together and caused the Superintendent of Banks to enunciate what is called the *de novo* rule."⁵ Dodge himself said later about the rule, "It was necessary. It had to come. I won't say that I was the first man who ever thought of the *de novo* rule. . . . Perhaps I was the first man who wrote it out and put it into words."⁶

Between November 1921 and January 1923, when he left office, Dodge only granted one *de novo* branch outside San Francisco to the Bank of Italy. This was for an office in San Pedro and the exception was made because the application had been submitted prior to the announcement of the rule. The Bank of Italy still continued to expand rapidly during the period by purchasing banks. There was no curb on buying banks and converting them into branches.

On February 1, 1923, the newly elected Governor, Friend W. Richardson, appointed the Deputy Treasurer of the state of California, John Franklin Johnson, as Superintendent of Banks. A month later, on March 8, 1923, the *de novo* rule was reissued and amplified by the new Superintendent. To the existing rule, a provision was added that henceforth branch banks be limited to only one branch office per city or town outside their home city, unless the "public advantage and convenience" could be shown to require more. This did not affect branch offices already held prior to March 8, 1923.

Superintendent Johnson was an advocate of restricting the spread of branch banking and he applied the *de novo* rule quite strictly. Between 1923 and 1925, Johnson only granted 12 *de novo* branch offices outside the home office cities in the entire state. The Bank of Italy only received two; one in Sacramento and one in Santa Maria. The Sacramento branch was not really an exception, since preliminary approval for its charter occurred six days before the *de novo* ruling.

Johnson particularly blocked the Bank of Italy in southern California. He believed in dividing the state into banking zones. The 37th parallel, a line drawn through Gilroy, effectively cut the state into two financial sections. No bank south of the line had branch offices north of the line. Only one bank north of the line—the Bank of Italy—had branch offices south of it. Los Angeles was a good example of the zonal banking theory in action. Between June 1921 and June 1925, the State Banking Office granted permits for 122 *de novo* branches in Los Angeles. The Bank of Italy and a subsidiary bank that it controlled received 5. Five banks with headquarters in Los Angeles received the other 117 branches. At the end of 1925, the Bank of Italy had only six branches in Los Angeles, twelve years after entering the city.

Giannini largely evaded the restrictions by setting up three regional subsidiary banking systems that obtained branches that the Bank of Italy under the *de novo* rule could not acquire. In northern California, the Giannini subsidiary was the Liberty Bank of San Francisco. In southern California, Giannini's holding companies controlled the Commercial National Bank of Los Angeles and the Bank of America of Los Angeles. The Superintendent did prevent each of these regional systems from moving out of its local area. But, by the beginning of 1926, these three banks held 59 offices, as compared with 98 offices for the Bank of Italy. Still, this indirect method did not satisfy Giannini, who wanted to consolidate all his subsidiaries into one system. The more

Giannini was blocked by administrative edict, the more determined he was to gain this goal. Finally, Giannini decided to appeal to the legislature to modify or overturn the *de novo* rule.

In March 1925, a bill was introduced in the state legislature by Assemblyman Spaulding of Santa Clara, a branch manager of the Bank of Italy. The bill provided that whenever 20% of the registered voters living in an area at least one-fourth of a mile in diameter and containing a minimum of 500 voters petitioned for a branch office, the Superintendent would have to grant the permit. This measure was promptly dubbed the "Bank of Italy Bill" by the press. Southern California branch bankers and independent bankers joined forces in opposing the bill. After a week of acrimonious hearings, the proposal was tabled. A political writer for the *Los Angeles Times* commented: "The result is that the banking situation in California is still in a state of confusion, both sides having expended considerable energy and each warily watching the other for the next move."⁷

Failing to win relief in the legislature, the Bank of Italy then took its case to the courts. Giannini challenged the legality of the *de novo* ruling. The test case involved permits for two Los Angeles branches denied by Superintendent Johnson in March 1925. On June 18, 1925, the Bank of Italy petitioned the Supreme Court of California for a writ of mandamus directing the Superintendent to approve the Los Angeles *de novo* branch applications.

The case dragged on for 18 months. The hearings alone consumed many weeks. There were 1,925 pages of testimony and 227 exhibits entered as evidence. Finally on December 15, 1926, Associate Justice Shank, speaking for the entire Supreme Court, announced the decision which held for the Superintendent and dismissed the Bank of Italy's suit. The *de novo* rule was declared to be a legal exercise of the Superintendent's powers.⁸

Long before the legal battle was decided against him, A. P. Giannini had virtually written off the effort. Impatient for action, he decided at the end of 1925 to attempt to obtain permission to merge two of his subsidiary systems. The Liberty Bank and the Bank of America of Los Angeles were to be combined into a single statewide system with headquarters in Los Angeles. Then, Giannini planned to merge the new organization with the parent body, the Bank of Italy.

The merger application went to the Superintendent on November 30, 1925. Two of Giannini's top lieutenants, L. M. MacDonald and

Orra Monnette, visited Johnson and urged him to approve the request.⁹ One of Giannini's men, L. M. Edwards, even appealed to Governor Richardson. As Edwards entered the Governor's office, Richardson's first words were "I know you want to see me about the Bank of America and the Liberty Bank consolidation." Edwards wrote to Giannini:

He then proceeded to state that it was his fixed policy not to interfere with the decision of any Commissioner appointed by him. He said that if anyone had complaints to make about the honesty or integrity of one of his appointees that he would consider same, but under no circumstances would he interfere with any decision arrived at by the Superintendent of Banks, Commissioner of Corporations, or any other appointee of his.¹⁰

After a three-month delay, Superintendent Johnson finally denied the application on March 5, 1926. Johnson told a Giannini representative that the general public in California was not in favor of "having one big banking system dominating the state."¹¹ The Superintendent accused the Giannini holding companies of engaging in a dangerous program of "interlocking, intercorporate ownership and cross-financing." He wrote angrily:

Is there any economic plan behind the expansion . . . and if so what is it? In this plan of expansion is elimination of the independent bank involved? . . . Will you kindly state whether your plans contemplate stopping any point short of a money and banking monopoly in this state?¹²

The Bank of Italy leaders denied the charge of seeking a monopoly in the state. They suspected that Johnson had been subjected to strong pressures from their southern California rivals, although there was no proof of this. Johnson was accused of adopting restrictions that were used "to deprive the Bank of Italy of its legal rights to extend its branches in the city of Los Angeles." They wrote Johnson: "The Bank Act recognizes no such theory of tributary territory as you lay down. The distance between the head office and any branch is immaterial for any purpose. . . . It is as easy to exercise control in Eureka as in Burlingame."¹³

Long before the collapse of merger negotiations, high officials of the Bank of Italy were considering the backing of a candidate to oppose Governor Richardson's bid for re-election in 1926. If this maneuver succeeded, it would remove from office both Richardson and his appointee, Superintendent Johnson. It would open the way for the creation of a single, unified, statewide banking system with resources of 600 million dollars.

The course of events was indicated as early as December 1925, nearly eight months before the primary election. Franklin Hichborn, a prominent progressive Republican and a discerning political analyst, wrote to Senator Hiram Johnson:

The Bank of Italy crowd would unquestionably like to get the Banking Commissioner and I do not think the deduction is unreasonable that the Bank of Italy crowd will spend money to elect a Governor who will name a Bank Commissioner satisfactory to them.¹⁴

The political situation was propitious for the Bank of Italy. For 16 years the conservative and liberal wings of the dominant Republican party had been fighting for control of the state government. From 1910 to 1922, the progressive Republican faction controlled the state under the reform Governors Hiram Johnson and William D. Stephens. In 1922, the conservative Republicans were victorious with the election of Friend W. Richardson as Governor. Now, in 1926, the progressive forces were seeking to regain power. Their candidate to oppose Richardson was Lieutenant Governor C. C. Young, an outstanding liberal and a friend of Senator Hiram Johnson. Business groups and rural interests in general backed Richardson, while Young was supported by organized labor, the Progressive Voters League, many newspapers, and the G.O.P. city machines in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

In the spring of 1926, the Bank of Italy opened cautious negotiations with the progressive Republicans. There was a long period of maneuvering before a final decision was reached on a program of political action.

As early as February 1926, Giannini wrote to one of his executive officers: "Surely [Superintendent] Johnson has been giving us a raw deal." He urged the preparation of a statement citing the history of the unsuccessful merger applications. "I am sure that this would serve to get public sentiment on our side and at the same time lay the foundation for our carrying the fight in this state to the people direct."¹⁵

In April, one of Giannini's officers, Orra Monnette, met with Mayor George E. Cryer of Los Angeles and with Kent Parrott, G.O.P. political boss in Los Angeles. Monnette reported to Giannini that both Cryer and Parrott were behind Young's candidacy. Monnette stated that Parrott was sympathetic to Giannini. "He [Parrott] is personally very favorably disposed to you and the Bank of Italy, and believes that Young will be successful, that he will give us a square deal."¹⁶

Giannini refused to commit himself to the Young camp immediately.

The Bank of Italy leader probably hoped that the mere threat of intervention on Young's side might bring about a change of attitude on the part of Richardson and Johnson. There was also the danger of a failure in politics. Political intervention was definitely a risk.

Of course, it was in the interests of the Richardson administration to counter Giannini's maneuvers by entering into prolonged negotiations with the Bank of Italy, negotiations that could be spun out until the election was past. This action would retain for Richardson the support of the banking groups opposed to Giannini, while keeping the Bank of Italy neutral. On the other hand, the Young forces wanted an active commitment by the Bank of Italy. The Bank's financial power and the support of its thousands of employees and stockholders could prove invaluable in a close election. So, for the next few months, both sides in the campaign wooed the state's largest bank.

Giannini left for a vacation in Europe in May and was not due home until the beginning of August, about one month before the election. Prior to his departure, he wrote to the former Superintendent of Banks, J. S. Dodge, "Up until this time, I have not been able to come to any decision as to whom I, or any of my friends, would support as Governor."¹⁷

In June there were widespread rumors that a deal was pending between Young and the Bank of Italy. Franklin Hichborn wrote to State Senator Herbert C. Jones:

Another story is that Young has agreed in the event of election, he will appoint a Bank Commissioner satisfactory to the Bank of Italy. This story was also told by [Ralph] Arnold but scouted as not probable. Nevertheless, Arnold discussed it in such a way as to emphasize that it is current.¹⁸

As it turned out, the rumors were a trifle premature.

In the early summer, Giannini still hoped to force the hand of the Richardson administration. As he cabled his chief lieutenant, James A. Bacigalupi, on July 15, "You can blame me for wanting to keep the institution out of politics if at all possible." Giannini mentioned various Richardson agents, including Assembly Speaker Frank F. Merriam, who were holding out promises of concessions in return for neutrality. Giannini said it was only the intervention of these men that had so far prevented the carrying of "our case direct to [the] people."¹⁹

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. This article is largely based on material from the A. P. Giannini Papers in the Bank of America archives, San Francisco.
2. *Branch, Chain, and Group Banking*, Hearings on H. R. 141, U. S. House Committee on Banking and Currency, 71st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: 1930), V. 2, p. 1537. (Hereafter cited as *Branch Bank Hearings, 1930*).
3. Joseph F. Sartori to Superintendent Jonathan S. Dodge, December 3, 1921. Copy in the Bank of America archives.
4. *Transamerica Corporation vs. Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System* in the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, Hearings, Appendix, v. 7, p. 4742. Testimony of Mario Giannini.
5. *Branch Bank Hearings, 1930, op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 1506. Testimony of James A. Bacigalupi.
6. *Bank of Italy vs. J. F. Johnson*, 200 *California Reports*, p. 19, quoting Superintendent Dodge.
7. Earle Crowe in *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 1925.
8. *Bank of Italy vs. J. F. Johnson*, 200 *California Reports*, pp. 38-39.
9. L. M. MacDonald to A. P. Giannini, January 23, 1926; Orra Monnette to A. P. Giannini, January 27, 1926. Bank of America archives.
10. L. M. Edwards to A. P. Giannini, February 15, 1926, *ibid.*
11. Orra Monnette to A. P. Giannini, April 3, 1926, *ibid.*
12. J. F. Johnson to the Bank of America of Los Angeles, March 5, 1926, *ibid.*
13. James A. Bacigalupi to J. F. Johnson, July 12, 1926, *ibid.*
14. Franklin Hichborn to Hiram Johnson, December 22, 1925, Hichborn Papers, University of California at Los Angeles.
15. A. P. Giannini to L. M. MacDonald, February 1, 1926, Bank of America archives.
16. Orra Monnette to A. P. Giannini, April 22, 1926, *ibid.*
17. A. P. Giannini to Jonathan S. Dodge, May 18, 1926, *ibid.*
18. Franklin Hichborn to Herbert C. Jones, June 11, 1926, Hichborn Papers.
19. A. P. Giannini to James A. Bacigalupi, July 15, 1926, Bank of America archives.

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Established in 1945

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed for the last two years.

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Geraldine Bliss Brook
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E. S. Egbert
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Frank Alton Somers
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Elizabeth Henry Stephenson
Edward Herbert Towler
Edith Lynn Walker
Willard Forsythe Williamson

Ella Sherburn Yoerk

In Memoriam

MORGAN ARTHUR GUNST

Morgan Arthur Gunst, prominent civic leader, loyal Stanford alumnus, philanthropist, financier and renowned book collector, passed away at 71 on August 3, 1958. His death leaves a void in a wide circle of friends and organizations to which he gave leadership.

Morgan Gunst was born of a pioneer family in San Francisco on March 9, 1887, at 905 Hyde Street. Abraham Gunst, his grandfather, came to California from New York in 1853. During the Civil War, while serving as Provost Marshal of Atlanta, he, along with Mayor George Calhoun of the southern capital, formally surrendered the city to General William T. Sherman. In 1876 he returned to San Francisco where he spent the remainder of his days.

Moses A. Gunst, the father of Morgan, was a colorful San Francisco personality, who started as a humble cigar clerk in 1867 and became part owner of M. A. Gunst Co., one of the leading tobacco concerns of the country. In 1890 Governor H. H. Markham appointed Moses Gunst to the San Francisco Police Commission. In 1906 his holdings were wiped out by the fire, which ruined so many business establishments. In an amazingly short time after this disaster, however, he had reestablished his tobacco stores. He married Ophelia Cohn in 1886. She was the daughter of the eminent rabbi Elkan Cohn, who headed Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco for twenty-nine years (1860-1889). Out of the marriage three children were born, Elkan, Carlton and Morgan, who was the last surviving son. Moses Gunst lived by the noble sentiment "give while you live." Morgan carried out this rule.

Morgan graduated from Pacific Heights and Lowell High School. He attended Stanford University and would have been of the class of 1908, but he left college to help his father rebuild M. A. Gunst & Co. General Cigar Co. merged with the family firm and Morgan became General Manager of the western operations until 1928, when he resigned to become Vice President of Bank of America. He was on its Board of Directors and a member of the executive, commerce, finance and trust investment committees. As President of the Capital Company, a bank affiliate, he had the responsibility of managing Transamerica's real estate holdings. In 1935 he retired from active business to devote more time to his real estate interests, which included two downtown office buildings. He now was free to devote more time to civic affairs, in which he had long participated. He gave generously of his capabilities, energy and experience.

He served as Director of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce for three terms—1918, 1919 and 1924—and was elected first vice president in 1924. He was President of the San Francisco Council of Health and Social Agencies in 1920, the forerunner of the Community Chest in San Francisco, and served as temporary acting chairman in the formative period of the Community Chest. He

also was a member of the budget and finance and public relations committees in 1923 through 1926. He was President of the Federation of Jewish Charities in 1922-23 and a member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Welfare Fund from 1944 through 1947. He served his country as a member of the U. S. Navy Price Adjustment Board, Pacific Coast Division, 1942-47. Mr. Gunst was appointed a member of the San Francisco Planning Commission from 1946-48 and served as first Chairman of the Urban Redevelopment Agency 1948-53. He helped organize the San Francisco Planning and Housing Association and served as President in 1945. Another of Morgan's major activities was the establishment in 1937 of the Stanford Associates and for twenty years he was a member of the Board of Governors of this organization, which conducted and organized campaigns to obtain increased financial support for Stanford University. He was Chairman of the special committee of the Stanford Fund of California and was responsible for the inclusion in many wills of large bequests to his alma mater. For this devoted service he received the University's rare degree of "Uncommon Man." He will be remembered for organizing an exhibition of European bookbindings at the San Francisco International Exposition in 1939 and 1940. He was also responsible for a contemporary creative French bookbinding exhibit in the Albert M. Bender Room of Stanford University Library in 1956. He had one of the finest collections of press books in California. It includes Doves, Ashendene and Kelmscott items and fine contemporary French bindings. His club memberships included Book Club of California, in which he served as President 1946-49; Concordia-Argonaut, Roxburghe Club, Grolier Club of New York, Commonwealth Club of California, Société de la Reliure Originale of Paris, France, and Société des Amis du Livre Moderne, also of Paris, and the California Historical Society, of which he was a member for twenty-five years.

He is survived by his wife, Aline Dreyfus Gunst; a son, Morgan, Jr.; a daughter, Marjorie G. Stern; and four grandchildren, Carl W. Stern, Jr., Peter G. Stern, Morgan Alexander Gunst and Ariane Faberge Gunst.

We shall love his memory, for we respected him in life and deemed him the finest example that younger men could have before them. He was noble, tolerant, friendly, and a gentleman.

EDGAR M. KAHN

MRS. C. O. G. MILLER

Janet Watt Miller, widow of C. O. G. Miller, late Chairman of the Board and Co-founder of Pacific Lighting Corporation, died July 2, 1958, at her home in San Francisco. Mrs. Miller was in her 89th year.

Mrs. Miller was the daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Watt. She was born in Sacramento and educated in San Rafael. Her father was an officer and director of Pacific Gas Improvement Company, the same organization with which C. O. G. Miller served as treasurer and later as President.

In 1898 Janet McAlpin Watt became the bride of Christian Otto Gerberding Miller, thus uniting two socially prominent families. After a short eastern honeymoon and a brief residence in Oakland, they moved to San Francisco in 1905, and in 1907 to 3001 Pacific Avenue when their house was completed and where they lived thereafter. Their Golden Wedding Anniversary was celebrated by a reception in their honor in 1948 at the Bohemian Club.

Mrs. Miller had the happy gift of seeming to be a contemporary of guests of both younger and old generations and her hosts of friends were of all ages.

Philanthropies to which Mrs. Miller contributed covered a wide field, but like her husband, her modesty prevented their being generally known. During World War II she directed and managed the Salvage Shop of the Red Cross which produced more than \$170,000 to help carry on important war-time functions of the Red Cross. She was a dedicated supporter of the San Francisco Opera Association and of the San Francisco Symphony.

Mrs. Miller was a member of the Burlingame Country Club and the Franciscan Club of San Francisco. She was also a member of the National League for Women's Service, League for Women Voters and the San Francisco Center of California Civics. Both Mr. and Mrs. Miller were active and enthusiastic members of the California Historical Society. Mr. Miller participated in the Society's reorganization in 1922 and served as President in 1930. After his death Mrs. Miller presented to the Society his large and important collection of Californiana.

Members of Janet Miller's family who survive her are her daughter, Mrs. Bernard W. Ford of Hillsborough and two sons, Robert Watt Miller, Chairman of the Board of Pacific Lighting Corporation, and Albert Kendall Miller of San Francisco. She is also survived by five grandchildren and seventeen great-grandchildren.

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RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

1957

- AUDUBON, JOHN WOODHOUSE. *The Drawings of . . . , Mexico and California in 1849-50*, ed. Carl S. Dentzel. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1957. Printed by the Grabhorn Press. Out of print.
- BAILEY, RICHARD C. *Heritage of Kern*. Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society, 1957. \$3.50.
- BARRETT, ELLEN C. *Baja California, 1535-1956, a Bibliography*. Los Angeles, Bennett and Marshall, 1957. \$24.00.
- CAEN, HERB. . . . *Guide to San Francisco*. New York, Doubleday, 1957. \$2.95.
- CONMY, PETER T. Romualdo Pachecho. . . . San Francisco, Native Sons of the Golden West, 1957. Gratis.
- CROWE, EARLE. *Men of El Tejon, Empire in the Tehachapis*. Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1957. \$4.50.
- GILLIAM, HAROLD. *San Francisco Bay*. New York, Doubleday, 1957. \$7.50.
- GRIFFIN, PAUL F., and ROBERT N. YOUNG. *California . . . , a regional Geography*. San Francisco, Fearon Publishers, 1957. \$5.50.
- HEUSTIS, DANIEL D. *Remarkable adventures of*, intro. Carey S. Bliss. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1957. Out of print.

- HUFF, BOYD. *El Puerto de los Balleneros, Annals of the Sausalito Whaling Anchorage*. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1957. Out of print.
- INTO THE GREEN VALLEY, a Story of Yucaipa Valley. Yucaipa, Citizens National Bank, 1957. Gratis.
- KEMBLE, JOHN HASKELL. *San Francisco Bay, a Pictorial Maritime History*. Cambridge, Md., Cornell Maritime Press, 1957. \$10.00.
- KOENIG, GEORGE. *The Mother Lode*. San Francisco, Fearon Publishers, 1957. \$1.50.
- LEWIS, OSCAR. *Here Lived the Californians*. New York, Rinehart, 1957. \$7.95.
- LINGENFELTER, RICHARD E., and RICHARD A. DWYER. *The "Nonpareil" Press of T. S. Harris*. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1957. \$5.00.
- MEYER, SAMUEL A., comp. *50 Golden Years . . . Newport Beach, 1906-1956*. Newport Beach, Newport Harbor Publishing Co., 1957. \$5.75.
- MORAGA, GABRIEL. *Diary of . . . Expedition . . . in the Sacramento Valley, 1808*, ed. and trans. Donald C. Cutter. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1957. Printed by Lawton Kennedy. \$6.00.
- OBERT, KARL, photographer. *This is California*. Menlo Park, Lane Publishing Co., 1957. \$7.50.
- O'NEAL, LULU R. *A Peculiar Piece of Desert . . . Morongo Basin*. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1957. \$7.50.
- PARKER, HORACE. *Anza-Borrego Desert Guide Book*. Balboa Island, Paisano Press, 1957. \$2.50.
- PEALE, TITIAN R. *Diary, Oregon to California . . . 1841*. Ed. Clifford M. Drury. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1957. \$10.00.
- RUSH, PHILIP S. *The Californians, 1846-1957*. San Diego, Southern California Rancher, 1957. \$4.00.
- RUSSELL, J. H. *Cattle on the Conejo*. Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1957. \$3.00.
- SPAULDING, EDWARD S., comp. *Adobe Days along the Channel*. Santa Barbara, Schauer Printing Studio, 1957. \$22.50.

1958

- BJORK, KENNETH O. *West of the Great Divide; Norwegian Migration to the Pacific Coast, 1847-1893*. Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1958. \$7.50.
- BLOOM, MARY G., ed. *The Hazelton Letters*. Stockton, California History Foundation, 1958. Printed by Lawton Kennedy. \$3.00.

- DEVLIN, MADISON. *San Francisco Panorama*. San Francisco, Fearon Publishers, 1958. \$1.75.
- DILLON, RICHARD H. *Sutro Library through the Centuries*. San Francisco, Sutro Library, 1958. Gratis.
- GALLUCCI, MARY and ALFRED D. James E. Birch. *Sacramento*, Sacramento County Historical Society, 1958. \$2.50.
- GLEASON, DUNCAN. *The Islands and Ports of California*. New York, Devin-Adair, 1958. \$8.50.
- HILLINGER, CHARLES. *The California Islands*. Los Angeles, Academy Publishers, 1958. \$5.50.
- LEWIS, OSCAR, comp. *The Autobiography of the West: Personal Narratives...* New York, Holt, 1958. \$5.00.
- HUTCHINSON, W. H. *California Heritage*. Chico, Diamond Match Co., 1958. Gratis. *Beginnings of commercial lumbering in the Sierra Nevada*.
- MCGOWAN, EDWARD. *The Strange Eventful History of Parker H. French*, ed. Kenneth M. Johnson. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1958. \$5.00.
- MILLIKEN, RALPH L. *West Side Centennials of 1958*. Los Banos, Speedprint Advertising, 1958. *Lone Willow Stage Station*, Miller and Lux, etc. \$0.50.
- NEWHALL, RUTH W. *The Newhall Ranch*. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1958. \$4.00.
- PREUSS, CHARLES. *Exploring with Frémont: the Private Diaries of...*, ed. and trans. Erwin and Elisabeth Gudde. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. \$3.95.
- SHINN, CHARLES H. *Graphic Description of Pacific Coast Outlaws... Sheriff Harry N. Morse...*, ed. J. E. Reynolds. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1958. \$5.50.
- TAC, PABLO. *Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey*, ed. and trans. Minna and Gordon Hewes. San Luis Rey, Old Mission, 1958. \$0.50.
- VER PLANCK, WILLIAM E. *Salt in California*. Department of Natural Resources, Division of Mines, Bulletin No. 175, 1958. \$3.25.
- WILKINS, THURMAN. *Clarence King, a Biography*. New York, Macmillan, 1958. \$7.50.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

ANSON S. BLAKE is a name already known to readers of the *Quarterly*. He was the author of "The California Centennials 1948, 1949, 1950" in the June, 1947, number and of "The Hudson's Bay Company in San Francisco" in the June, 1949, issue. Mr. Blake, a resident of Richmond, has been an active member of the Society since its reorganization in 1922. He served on the Board from 1924 through 1952 and was President from 1945-1948. In 1958 he was made a Fellow of the Society. On September 29, 1958, he received an honorary Doctor of Law degree from the University of California. Mr. Blake has spoken to the Society on such subjects as the early settlers of Yerba Buena, the life of the California miners, and John Bidwell's expedition. His knowledge of the past and ability to draw on personal recollections make his work of special interest.

ROBERT RYAL MILLER is now a graduate student in history at the University of California, Berkeley, where he received his A.B. (1948) and M.A. (1951) degrees. He served in the Air Force during World War II, and his business experience includes real estate appraisal, managing a post exchange store in Germany, and high school teaching. Mr. Miller's special field of interest is U. S.-Mexican relations during the 1860's, and he recently spent three months of research on this topic in the military archives at Mexico City.

RUSSELL M. POSNER, author of the article, "The Bank of Italy and the 1926 Campaign in California," was born in San Francisco. He studied at the University of California in Berkeley, where he received his Doctorate in American History in September, 1956. The subject of his dissertation was "State Politics and the Bank of America, 1920-1934." Since 1949, he has been employed as an Instructor in History at the City College of San Francisco. He has travelled extensively in Europe and is the author of "What You Would See in Czechoslovakia," *California Monthly*, November, 1949. He has also written "The Progressive Voters League, 1923-26," which appeared in the *Quarterly* for September, 1957, as well as "A. P. Giannini and the 1934 Campaign in California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, June, 1957.

AMELIA D. EVERETT has been active in the Daughters of Utah Pioneers organization for two decades, and for five years ending in 1957 acted as their Alameda County historian. She has contributed articles to the *Messenger* of northern California, including an historical sketch of the Latter Day Saints in the City of Alameda. Poems by Mrs. Everett have appeared in the *Alameda Times Star*, and in the *Oakland Tribune* (Apr. 11, 1945).

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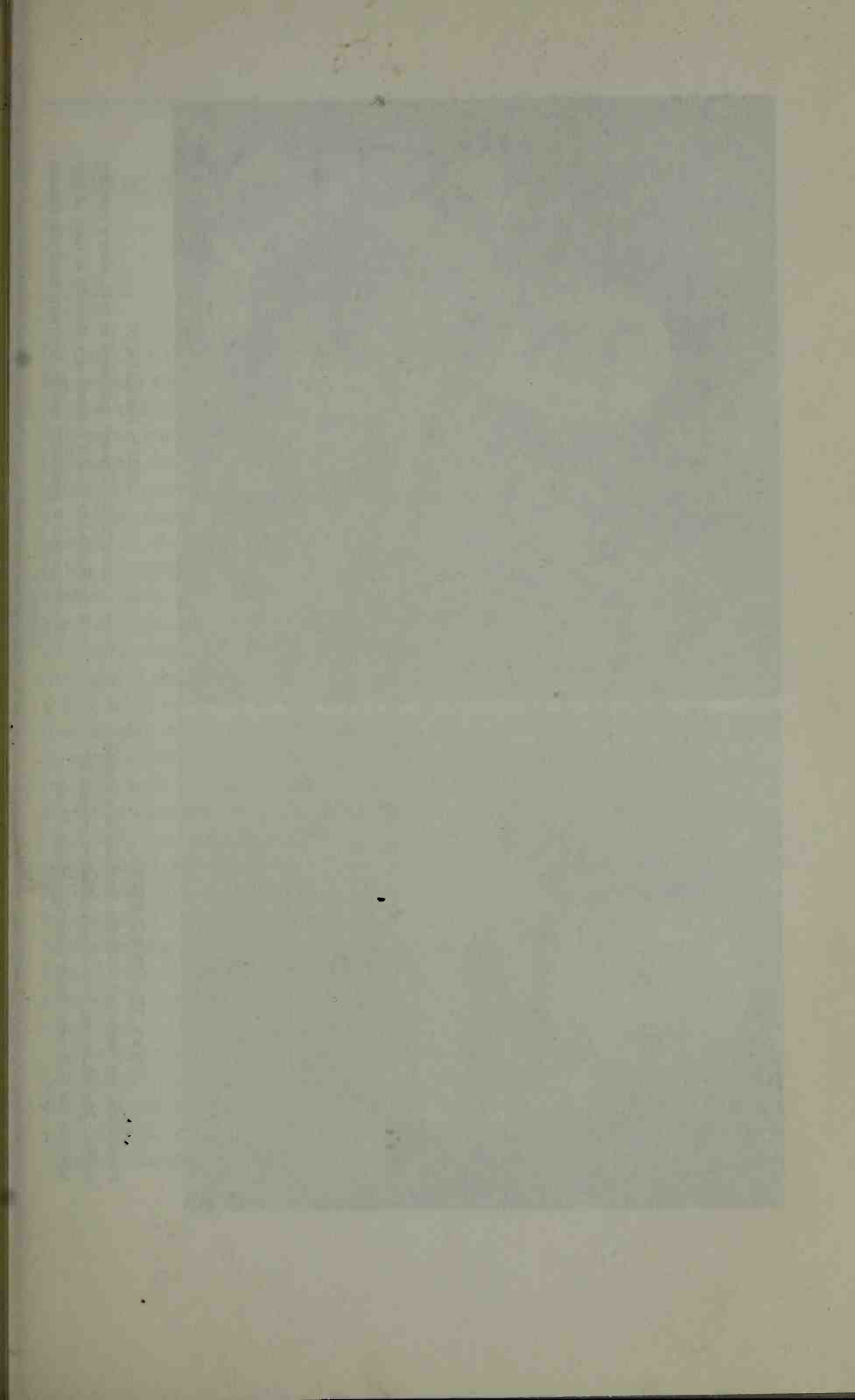
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FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA

From a painting, preserved at Mission Santa Barbara, copied by Rev. José Mosqueda from a now-unknown original formerly in the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, Mexico.



JOHN HARRISON

From a mezzotint by Tassart, published in 1768, after a painting by King. Behind to the left is Number 3, directly in back of him is his compensated pendulum and by his right hand the famous Number 4.

Time and the Old California Missions¹

By W. BARCLAY STEPHENS

IN THE LAST three-quarters of the 18th Century two events of great importance took place. The one, in the realm of time, occurred in the pursuit and solution of the problem of determining longitude at sea. The other was in the religious world in the founding of the missions in California. At first glance it might appear that the only relationship between the two events was that they were contemporaneous, but as we follow them through we find that they were interrelated in many particulars. Both had a great impact upon humanity. The one brought to the shipping world a saving of life and ships; the other brought the first civilizing influence to what was destined to become the great State of California. In each of these two fields of endeavor there was an outstanding dedicated man who permitted no form of obstacle to stop him in the pursuit of his goal.

For what occurred in the world of time, we turn to England. In that insular country, whose welfare and prosperity were in large measure dependent upon shipping, the losses of lives and ships were reaching such proportions that, urged on by the shipping interests, the British government, in 1714, offered a reward of 20,000 pounds for a "generally practical and useful" method of determining longitude at sea. A Board of Longitude was also appointed to administer the award. It was well known that longitude could easily be determined on land by means of an accurate time piece and there were many clocks, all with pendulums, suitable for this service, whereas for the sea a pendulum clock was useless because of the motion of the ship. The solution then lay in the construction of a time piece which could be used on shipboard.

The scientists and clockmakers had long been trying to adapt the pendulum to seagoing and had been experimenting with various other forms of timepieces, all to no purpose. The publication of the award gave a fresh impetus to the project, but fifteen years more of these fruitless efforts passed and no successful applicant had appeared. Then,

in 1729, there came to London from Yorkshire a man of thirty-five years, a carpenter and the son of a carpenter, who had made himself a self-educated clockmaker, John Harrison by name. He had come to compete for the award and as evidence of his ability had brought with him a pendulum clock which he had made. It was of superior accuracy and workmanship and also had certain other principles which he had invented and proposed to use in a timepiece without a pendulum. The Board of Longitude was impressed and gave him permission to enter the list of contestants.

Six years elapsed before Harrison returned, bringing with him what he termed his marine timekeeper. This he had himself tested at sea and it had performed well. It weighed 72 pounds. The Board of Longitude did not subject it to a sea test. However, the members had such a favorable impression of it that he was asked to try again and they advanced him a moderate sum to help finance the making of a second one.

In two years Harrison returned with No. 2, which weighed 102 pounds. This, too, was an excellent timekeeper. At the time of its completion England and Spain were at war and for fear that the timekeeper might fall into the hands of the enemy, it was not tested and he was persuaded to make a third attempt and was granted 2,000 pounds aid. This, the third, required seventeen years. However, along with it, he made a fourth one in the form of a large watch, 5.2 inches in diameter. No. 3 was more complicated than either of the preceding ones, having no less than 753 separate parts. Both No. 3 and No. 4 were submitted to the Board of Longitude and after a long delay, No. 4, being smaller and more easily handled, was chosen for the test. Though no record has been found to this effect, it seems reasonable that the size, weight, and complexity of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 may have influenced the Board of Longitude in their failure to test these three.

After all these years of waiting for the testing of his timepieces and since No. 4 was a brilliant and unequivocal success, it would seem that the Board of Longitude would immediately declare Harrison the winner of the contest and give him the financial award. This, however, is not what happened. During the passing years the Board of Longitude had become honeycombed with discussions and disagreements and instead of immediately giving Harrison the award, they made further demands upon him, demands which at his time of life were both physically and financially almost impossible for him to meet. So more years

passed before he was finally given the award, and then only due to the intervention of the king.

In this long interval the Board of Longitude had Larcum Kendall, a skilled watchmaker, construct an exact replica of No. 4 at a cost of 450 pounds and Captain Cook took it on a long voyage. He returned home with highest praises for its performance and the approbation of so experienced a sea captain naturally added greatly to the prestige of No. 4.

While these wrangles were going on, LeRoy and Berthoud in France and Arnold, Earnshaw, Mudge, and others in England, were endeavoring to make a timepiece less complicated and less expensive than that of Harrison, at the same time making use of his inventions which had made such a timepiece possible. Of especial value was his method of temperature compensation which kept the timepiece accurate in temperatures varying from the heat of the tropics to the cold of the Arctic Circle. The competition in England was both keen and at times acrimonious. The model which finally emerged as the most practical was that of Thomas Earnshaw and his type is the one most commonly used to the present day. By then it had been given the name "chronometer" or time-measurer. Despite the advent of radio, radar, loran, and other aids to navigation, two or more chronometers are still carried on every ship. The chronometer has to its credit the saving of countless lives and ships and its discovery remains as one of the most important events in the history of time.

What about the man who had made possible this boon to humanity and the navigational world? He was first, a carpenter, then a self-made clockmaker, and finally the maker of three most complicated marine timekeepers, so skilfully and meticulously made that despite their complexity, no oil was ever needed. Finally he created a fourth timekeeper small enough to be carried in the hand, yet fully capable of determining longitude at sea (well within the prescribed limit of error). This No. 4 is the prototype of the millions which have since been made. To gain some idea of the ingenuity, inventive genius, diligence, perseverance, and skill of this man, bear in mind that it took him 25 years of almost unremitting labor to make these four timekeepers. They were so complicated that it took Commander Rupert T. Gould, R.N., retired, (author of a noteworthy book on the marine chronometer and a skilled amateur horologist) twelve years (1920-1931) to clean and put the first three into going condition. They had

become corroded and in a sad state of disrepair after they became the nation's property in 1765. This work was done by Commander Gould as a labor of love, due to his great admiration for John Harrison. He regarded these timekeepers as the most fitting memorial to an "original genius," a memorial far more suitable than one hewn from marble. Of No. 4, Gould says: "The most famous timekeeper which ever has been made or ever will be made."²

In the presence of a great crisis, it often seems that Divine Providence raises up someone to meet the emergency, endowing him with talents best suited for the task before him. For the time emergency, there was John Harrison, unschooled, unable to write a clear description of his marvelous mechanisms, yet with a keen inventive mind and skilful hands competent to transform his inventive inspirations into physical form. Similarly in the field of religion, we shall see that in the scholarly Junipero Serra there was a man with attributes suited to the task ahead of him.

Junipero Serra was born November 24, 1713, in the village of Petra in the island of Majorca (Mallorca). His parents were devout peasant farmers and had him baptized "Miguel Joseph," a name later discarded in favor of the above. His religious instruction and education began early in the Friary of Petra. Soon he showed ability as a student with a strong religious bent and was transferred to the Friary at the capital city, Palma, where in due time he finished his studies in philosophy and theology so brilliantly that he was made a doctor of theology even before receiving holy orders and priesthood. He became a successful and beloved teacher, a leader of men, and a man of vision with a consuming desire to become a member of the Order of St. Francis and a missionary in America. He entered the Franciscan Order in 1730 and took his vows in 1731. Not until 1749 was he granted permission to devote himself to missionary work in his chosen field. On August 28 of that year he set sail for Mexico, accompanied by two of his favorite former pupils, Francisco Palou and Juan Crespi, and eighteen other religious. They arrived at Vera Cruz 99 days later, on December 6, 1749.

Mexico City, 300 miles distant, was their objective. As Franciscans were usually expected to make their journeys afoot, shod with sandals, Serra and an Andalusian friar decided to travel in this manner. On the way they encountered great swarms of mosquitoes and other forms of insects, which added greatly to the discomforts of the journey. Serra,

through scratching the bites on one of his legs, caused an infection which developed into an ulcer, so serious that he had to resort to a horse. This ulcer never healed and was frequently the cause of great pain. By the aid of the horse, the journey was continued and presently they reached the famous Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe. After a short rest, they went on to Mexico City, the capital, where they arrived on December 31, and on New Year's day of 1750 received a hearty welcome from the Franciscans of the College of San Fernando. The college was the chief training center of the Padres for missionary work.

After a few months of preparation there, Father Serra and Father Palou volunteered for work among the Indians of Sierra Gorda, which was in northern Mexico. They stayed eight years, until 1758, when they were recalled to the College of San Fernando where they remained teaching and preaching until 1767.

The year 1767 was a sad year for the Lower California Missions, for in that period King Carlos of Spain ordered all the Jesuits expelled. They had entered this field in 1679 and during 88 years had established 15 missions. When leaving, they were ordered to take with them only the clothes on their backs and a breviary. Due to the lack of a vessel, their actual departure did not take place until February 3, 1768, when they were put aboard a ship and started on their way to Italy.

At the time that the expulsion order went out, directions were sent to the Franciscan College of San Fernando to assume charge of the Lower California Missions. Sixteen of the Franciscan fathers were appointed for this task with Serra as *presidente* or superior of the group. They left, with the blessing of the head of the College, for the Mexican seaport San Blas, where they were to take ship for Loreto, the capital of Lower California. When they arrived at San Blas, no ship was available for them and almost eight months passed before they were able to leave. In this long interval Serra gave the fathers assignments as preachers and teachers in the nearby villages. While they were engaged in these tasks the ship, which had sailed February 3 with the sixteen Jesuits, arrived. The Jesuits were disembarked to take another vessel for the completion of their journey to Italy and the ship they left was prepared to take the Franciscans aboard. All was in readiness on March 12 and they set sail for Loreto, where they arrived on April 1. There they were met by Governor Portolá, who read to them the letter from the viceroy of Mexico, instructing him to turn over to them all the missions formerly held by the Jesuits. Serra then

held a high mass, followed by an exhortation to the friars assigned to the missions he had selected for them.

Hardly had Serra gotten the affairs of the missions in running order when Jose de Galvez, the representative of King Carlos, arrived with the announcement that the king had ordered missions to be established in northern California at San Diego and Monterey. It was decided that the expedition should be by land and sea. This move was precipitated by fear that the Russians might come farther down the coast and take possession of these two important points. A third mission to be called "San Buenaventura" was also planned, about half way between. Galvez was particularly interested in founding this mission and spoke so frequently of it that Serra finally said to him, "What about a mission for St. Francis?" To which Galvez replied, "When St. Francis wishes a mission, he will point out the place."

In preparation for this move Serra visited the various missions, advising and discussing affairs with the Padres and deciding which of them to take north. Serra had been instructed to take some of the vestments, sacred vessels, and other ecclesiastical supplies from the old missions to be used in the new ones. The Jesuits had furnished their missions so elaborately that the removal of some of these ecclesiastical necessities would work no hardship upon them. From then on, until the departure north, the major portion of Serra's time was spent in preparation for the move which was to take place by sea and land. He was greatly aided by Galvez, who took upon his shoulders the securing of the three required ships, two of which needed much repair. Disregarding his high official position, Galvez took an actual physical part in the repairs; and later engaged in the minor task of helping to collect and pack the ecclesiastical supplies.

The land party was placed under Governor Portolá's general supervision and was organized in two divisions; one, under the leadership of Captain Moncada, was sent ahead on March 24 to break the way, and the second, under Portolá's own leadership, followed later. The soldiers, horses, and mules went with the land parties. The first of the three ships, the *San Carlos*, was loaded with field implements, iron ware, and household goods, and sailed January 10, 1769. The second, the *San Antonio (El Principe)*, took the food supplies and sailed February 15. As soon as the *San Jose* was completed, she too set sail.

Father Serra joined the land division under Portolá. Stops were made at the missions on the way and on May 13, 1769, they arrived at

Velicatá, the most northern settlement in Lower California. Here a mission was established and Father Miguel de la Campa y Coz was put in charge of it. Father Palou had been left at Loreto to take charge of the Lower California missions in place of Serra. Portolá, with Father Serra, left Velicatá May 15. The going was rough and Serra suffered intensely with his ulcered leg. He had to be lifted on and off his horse. Portolá urged him to go back but he refused to do so. The pain became so unbearable that he asked the muleteer to make an application to the leg. The muleteer objected, claiming that he knew only about animals. To which Serra replied for him to regard him as an animal and to act accordingly. The muleteer then made a dressing of herbs and tallow and heating it, applied it to the leg. Serra slept well that night and awakened refreshed and able to continue the rest of the journey. (This is the only record found of Serra using any medication for the leg.)³ They reached San Diego on July 1, 1769, tired from their strenuous journey but in good health.

The *San Antonio* had arrived with supplies on April 11, after a voyage of 55 days, and the *San Carlos* on May 1. The latter had been buffeted by storm and cross currents, blown off her course, and had exhausted her water supply. Putting into a port, the crew had taken on foul water. The poor water, scurvy, and some unknown infection had made almost all aboard ill and many had died. When she finally came into harbor after her 110-day voyage, her few remaining sailors were scarcely able to drop the anchor. The sailors of the *San Antonio* brought the sick ashore, and they and the soldiers attended to them as best they could under the direction of the ship's surgeon, Dr. Prat. Many of the sailors of the *San Antonio* and some of the soldiers became sick from the infection and there were so many ill that they had to be bedded down upon the ground. By the time of the arrival of the Serra party, many had died but most of those who were to recover were well.

After a consultation of Serra, Portolá, and the captain of the *San Antonio*, it was decided to send the *San Antonio* back to San Blas for more sailors and supplies. The surviving sailors from both ships made only a short-handed crew. With the *San Antonio* off for San Blas and the remaining sick recovering, the expedition was organized to locate Monterey and to select a suitable site for a mission. Included were most of the soldiers, Fathers Crespi and Gomez as diarist and spiritual advisor, and the Indians who had come with them from Lower California as scouts and guides.

The supplies in generous quantities were taken on mules. Governor Portolá was in command, with Moncada as his aid. While the local Indians had always been friendly, it was deemed wise to put up a palisade of stakes about the hastily built brush shelters, since so few soldiers would be left behind. This precaution proved wise. The expedition then started out July 14 taking along the description of Monterey Bay which Admiral Sebastian Vizcaíno had written at the time of his stop there in 1602. Serra remained at San Diego to proceed with the establishment of the mission.

Let us now take under consideration a matter of deep concern to the missions: the shipping, which was the main source of supplies and communication with the outside world. The tragic experiences of the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio*, and of the *San Jose* which was never heard from after it sailed for San Diego, show the uncertainty of this necessary maritime life line. Other experiences followed, some so trying as to threaten the abandonment of certain missions and overcome only because of Serra's great faith and dogged persistence.

By this time John Harrison had invented the chronometer, but it had not yet been simplified and made less costly so it could be put into general use. However, not many years were to pass before the Padres at the missions would become familiar with the chronometer and its story through the visits of the English and French voyagers who stopped at the missions. The local navigators, not having chronometers and probably knowing little about them, were still relying almost exclusively upon a method termed "dead reckoning" for determining their longitude and to a great extent their latitude. With this method a careful record was kept of the time consumed, the length, and the direction of each course as shown by the compass. With clear weather, calm sea, and no cross currents, the position was determined with a fair degree of accuracy, but with fog, unknown cross currents, and storms, the result was little better than guess work. Had chronometers been available to the captains in those waters in the early mission days, there is no doubt that many appalling losses of lives and ships might have been avoided and the Padres spared many anxious moments.

After three months of toilsome travel, the members of the Monterey expedition reached the area of Monterey Bay, but notwithstanding a long search and Vizcaíno's map and directions, they failed to recognize the bay and therefore pushed on farther north in their search. Since they were looking for a bay as seen by Vizcaíno from the ocean, they

followed a coastal route which took them through the coastal mountains. Wearing by several days of rugged going, the party stopped to recuperate and sent Sergeant José Francisco Ortega with a few hardy companions ahead to reconnoiter. Breasting a high mountain on October 31st, they saw spread out before them a vast inland body of water. They skirted the shoreline until they came to streams too large to be readily crossed and then returned to report to Portolá.

Had Serra been with the expedition, he would in all probability have held Ortega's discovery as a fulfillment of Galvez's prediction that St. Francis would point out the site for a mission when he wished one, for Ortega's discovery was none other than San Francisco Bay. But because of a critical shortage of provisions and no success in killing game to replenish the larder, little more exploration was made and the return trip to San Diego was begun. On the journey south another futile search was made for Monterey Bay. The food shortage was becoming each day a more and more serious problem and at times had to be supplemented with mule meat. The return trip was completed on January 24, 1770, after an absence of six months and ten days.

Portolá, wearied by his strenuous trip back to San Diego, discouraged by his failure to locate Monterey Bay, finding that neither the *San Antonio* nor the *San José* had arrived, and that provisions at the mission were nearly exhausted, decided in the presence of all these adverse conditions to take the soldiers and return to Lower California.

While the Monterey expedition was away, three attacks by the Indians had been barely repulsed, and Serra felt that if Portolá and the soldiers left it might mean the abandonment of the mission. Therefore he used all his persuasive powers to keep Portolá from leaving.

Day after day passed as Portolá impatiently waited for the arrival of one of the ships until finally, his patience exhausted, he declared he must leave. Once more Serra pleaded with him to delay a little longer. This time he asked that he wait nine days more, during which a novena (nine days of prayer) would be offered to St. Joseph, the holy patron of the expedition. To this Portolá agreed and on the ninth day the *San Antonio* appeared on the horizon and three days later dropped anchor in the harbor.

The arrival of the *San Antonio* brought about an entirely different atmosphere and quickly arrangements were made for a fresh attempt to locate Monterey and establish the mission there. This time it was to be made by both sea and land; Serra in the *San Antonio* with pro-

visions and ecclesiastical supplies and Portolá by land with the soldiers, horses and mules.

Serra arrived at Monterey on May 31, 1770, "after a somewhat distressful sea voyage" of 46 days. The land party accompanied by Father Juan Crespi had arrived eight days earlier. Work was begun promptly for the establishment of the mission and on June 3, 1770, its founding was celebrated by all the members of both parties, the captain of the *San Antonio* and the crew, and a few of the native Indians. A great cross was erected, holy mass was said by Father Serra, the bells hung in the trees were rung joyously, and the cannon on the ship was fired. Thus was founded Mission San Carlos de Monterey with a joyous celebration, in strong contrast to the one at San Diego, where the gloom of sickness and death prevailed. The founding of missions at these two key points marked the beginning of the chain of twenty-one extending from San Diego on the south to Sonoma on the north. Of these twenty-one, Serra was responsible for the founding of nine.

The above detailed description of the founding of these first two missions in northern California gives some idea of the difficulties, the hardships, the heartaches, the dependence upon ships, and the uncertainty of the ships, due to a great extent to the lack of dependable methods of navigation and the lack of an accurate sea-going time-piece—the chronometer.

A survey of Serra's life from the time of his leaving Mallorca to his death reveals a man remarkable in many particulars. He was frail in body, subject to asthma; and, though during the whole of his life in America he was afflicted also with a painful ulcer on one leg, he refused to let these disabilities be a hindrance in his activities. His religious zeal was unquenchable, his will indomitable. To these two marked characteristics in a great measure may be attributed his disregard of physical pain and his determination to attain his objective in the face of what seemed insuperable obstacles, were they physical or the antagonisms of civil or military authorities. He was practical and had the ability to deal with people. Coupled with these attributes, he had a deep love for his associates, especially Fathers Palou and Crespi. He had an earnest hope for the conversion and uplifting of his Indians and he looked upon the establishment of the missions chiefly as a means to this end. The intelligence of the Indians to whose salvation Serra had dedicated his life has been variously estimated by different writers, each writer being influenced by the particular tribe or tribes with which he had

come in contact. California's long coast line, with its widely varying climatic, faunal and floral surroundings, had much to do with the variation in the different tribes.

Immediately upon arriving at the site of the proposed mission at Monterey, the fathers made friends with the Indians by little gifts and other acts of friendliness, thus gradually gaining their participation in worship and their aid in construction of the mission buildings. Throughout their own training the Padres had had ingrained into them the observance of definite religious and temporal duties and these, as a rule, at definite hours of each day. It was not surprising, then, to find that as soon as a mission was established, order and regularity were dominant features. Under these circumstances a calendar and some form of timekeeper were necessities.

For the Padres the calendar was a most important and needed item—a vastly different affair, however, from that commonly seen hanging on the wall, for in their calendar are set down not only the days of the month, but each regular fixed religious duty of the day, the vestments to be worn, the feast days and fast days to be observed, the saints to be commemorated, the special prayers and masses, the moveable feasts such as Easter, which comes each year on a different day of the month and at times in a different month. To these items should be added the seven Dominical Letters which mark the day of the month on which Sunday occurs through the year, and the Golden Numbers which mark the range of days during which Easter occurs in the different years. It can easily be seen that the absence of a calendar would be a serious handicap for a mission and it can also be seen that the calculation and formulation of the liturgical calendar each year and its integration with the civil one was a complex and meticulous task requiring the services of mathematicians, astronomers, and those thoroughly versed in the church services. At the period of the early missions, the formulation of the calendar each year was probably done at the Holy See in Rome.

That Serra was without a calendar for the year 1770 is evidenced by a sentence from a letter written by him to Father Palou at Loreto in Lower California under the date of February 10, 1770: "Perhaps also the calendars can be sent along if they have arrived; also the fresh holy oils, should they have arrived from Guadalajara."⁴ From this quotation we learn that a month and ten days of that year had passed without a calendar.

When he left Lower California in May of that year, Serra undoubtedly had brought a calendar with him for 1769, but now from a second letter to Father Palou of June 13, 1770, we know that nearly half a year had passed and still no calendar. This letter also reveals the great length of time which often elapsed between communications as well as their uncertainty. The paragraph which is being quoted below shows he missed his good friend and longed for news. The Pope died in the interval and Serra did not even know the name of the new Pope.

"Because last May was a whole year since I had received any letter from those living in Christendom, Your Reverence can understand how hungry we are for news. Nevertheless, I ask only, when Your Reverence and your companions have the opportunity of writing, to learn the name of our Most Holy Father, the reigning Pope, in order to mention his name in the canon of the Mass. I would also like to learn if the Canonizations of Blessed Joseph of Cupertino and Blessed Seraphin of Ascoli have taken place, or if there is any other new blessed or saint, so that I may insert his name in the calendar and that I may pray to him, especially since it appears we shall be without printed calendars."⁵

In the absence of the printed calendars, what did the Padres do? An answer to this question was found at the San Carlos Mission through the courtesy of Mr. Harry Downie, archeologist of the mission. He showed me a large leather-bound much-thumbed quarto volume, *Missale Romanum* (all in Latin) which contained a sample calendar and three tables. The sample calendar gives the regular "fixed" items. The large table gives for the fifty years from 1784 to 1833, inclusive, the Dominical Letters and the Golden Numbers, and ten of the moveable feasts, such as Ash Wednesday, Easter, etc., each item on its proper date. The other two tables have to do with getting various items arranged on their proper days of the week. One is for the old style calendar and the other for the new. It must be borne in mind that the Julian calendar was replaced in 1582 by the Gregorian. In many countries the change was made promptly; in others, only after delay; for example, in England the final adjustment was not made until 1752. Even with these aids, the task of making up the calendar each year must have been long and toilsome for the Padres.

From a religious standpoint the calendar time was of greater importance to the Padres than the time of the day; however, when note is

made of the frequency with which the two are associated, the value of the time of the day is not to be minimized. In spite of this, it is surprising how infrequently the name calendar or any ordinary form of time-keeper appears in the great body of literature about the missions. The above quotations from Serra's two letters are the only occasions in which I have found the word calendar.

The first mention of a time piece (after I read several hundred pages) was found in Volume II of Engelhardt's *Missions and Missionaries of California*, wherein on page 628, a portion of Section 10 of the "Rule" reads as follows: "The ministry which the Fathers exercise demands the highest poverty which we profess by our Rule. Hence the use of silver watches and other precious articles is equally forbidden to them as well as to those who stay in the College." To this is appended a footnote: "Hence the common practice of having sundials, even on the gable of the church as, for instance, at Santa Barbara." The footnote is of especial importance since it informs us that it was of common practice to have sundials at the missions and that there was one on the gable of the church at Santa Barbara. It is no longer there, however, probably having succumbed to earthquakes which were the cause of damage to many of the missions. At present there are two modern sundials at the Santa Barbara Mission, neither of which it attached to a building. The sundial is of use only when the sun is shining upon it, and therefore useless in the house, at night, and on dark or foggy days. It has the further drawback that the angle of the gnomon or stile on each dial has to be set at the angle of the latitude of the place where the dial is to be used. This means that, if the dial is to be correct, it must have a gnomon and markings adapted to its particular location. This requirement militates against mass production of sundials, whereas clocks, being suitable for all latitudes, may be advantageously produced in large quantities.

For the Indian the sundial was the ideal time-teller, in consequence of their mode of life in the open. Their ideas of time and its passage were practically limited to the position of the sun in the sky and the shadows cast. Transferring the shadows cast by the trees and other objects to those cast by the gnomon of the sundial would be within their intelligence. In all probability this was one of the entering wedges used in opening the minds of these primitive peoples.

Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles, Lewis, 1952), gives a drawing and description of a large stone sun-

dial which was said to have been dug up in the 1920s at the San Carlos Mission. At the outer end of each of the 12 hour lines is a carved object such as a kneeling Indian, representing worship, an Indian at work, a bell, etc., thus indicating what was to be done at each hour. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this stone dial is not now known, but what could have been more logical than such a dial? Its adaptability to the rather low mentality of the Indians is a cogent reason for believing that the early Padres had one at every mission.

All through the literature about the missions, announcements of the time of the day constantly appear, but seldom is the name of any form of mechanical timekeeper mentioned. From the place where such an announcement of the time of the day is made, the circumstances, whether indoors or out, night or day, frequently give us a clue which enables us to tell with assurance whether the source of the time was a sundial, clock, or watch; for instance, it is evening at the mission, the Padres and some of their Indian converts are gathered for their evening recreation, bedtime is approaching and the hour 9:15 is announced. The fact of night rules out the sundial as the source of the time, so it must have been obtained from a clock or watch. Thus the presence of a watch or clock at the mission is fairly well proven. The frequency of announcements of the time of day, in comparison with the very infrequent mention of the source of the time, is marked. It was not until after I had plodded through hundreds, yes, thousands of pages, about the missions, and had found only three or four instances of the presence of clocks at missions, that Mrs. Webb's book came into my hands. There, to my great pleasure, I found seven clocks associated with missions.

Mrs. Webb has gathered all these clocks, save one, into one paragraph, reading, in part, as follows: "Records inscribed on manuscripts now yellowed with age state that, in 1774, Fr. Serra at Mission San Carlos had an alarm clock. In their first yearly report the Fathers at Mission Santa Clara list among the goods received for the casa: 'Un relox de madera con campanitas para horas, y quartas (wooden clock with little bells, or chimes, for striking the hours and quarter hours)' . . . Captain de Anza, in 1776, reports arriving at Mission San Luis Obispo 'just as it was striking half past eleven.' The inventories of the missions of San Francisco Solano, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz all list "un relox de sala" (a parlor clock). In the museum at Mission Santa Barbara are the works of an old wooden clock, which, in all probability, is all that remains of the one mentioned above."

Two of these need some comment. First, the wooden works at the museum at Santa Barbara. I cannot agree with Mrs. Webb in her probable origin of the works as being what remained of the clock cited above in the inventories. The one-day wooden works (movement) was made in Connecticut some time between 1815 and 1833. Thus the clock from which it came could have been brought by one of the many Yankee ships which were coming to California in those days. However, since such clocks are subject to damage by dampness to which they were liable in the long and often stormy voyage around the Horn they were not apt to be part of the cargo. Another reason that they were not likely to get into the hands of the Padres was the general disapproval of both Spain and Mexico, and specifically Governors Arrillaga and Borica, for the Padres to make purchases from vessels of nationalities other than their own.⁶ However, if by chance, this Connecticut movement was from the clock listed in the Santa Barbara inventory, which Mrs. Webb informs me was under the date of 1837, what became of the case of the clock? If the despoilers of the mission took the clock they would not have left the movement behind, nor would the Padres have taken out the movement and disposed of the case.

My guess as to the origin of the movement is that later, after the mission had been returned to the Catholic Church, the movement was given to the mission as a curiosity as were many other things that are seen at the missions at the present day.

The other clock (at Santa Clara) which needs some comment is the one of wood with quarter strike and chimes struck on little bells. If this clock was of wood and such as described it was a most unusual clock, for wood does not lend itself readily to such complications. On page 238, Mrs. Webb has more to say about this clock: "Later, when the old mission had been placed in the hands of missionaries of the Jesuit Order [1851], Fr. Joseph Carredda installed a clock in the tower face." Then is added a footnote: "From its description it probably was the clock received by the Padres in 1777." I cannot agree with Mrs. Webb that it was probably the chiming clock which was installed in the tower. The chiming clock was a house clock, probably of shelf type. Such a clock would be of too light construction to withstand the wind and weather to which a tower clock would be subjected. Besides its unsuitability there is grave doubt as to its existence in 1854 or 5, when Father Carredda installed a clock in the belfry tower. That it survived the flood of 1779 is known, for Rev. Arthur D. Spearman, S.J., of Santa

Clara University found it mentioned along with an English sundial of metal in the 1782 *Informe* of the old Mission Santa Clara and has kindly passed the information on to me. No further mention of the chiming clock has been found. It apparently did not survive the two subsequent removals and the plundering of the mission in the 1840s. The most probable happening would seem to be that Father Carredda purchased a suitable clock and installed it in the belfry tower below the bells. Father Spearman has shown me a photograph of the tower before the installation and one taken subsequently. The dial appears larger than that of a house clock. The Carredda clock is the only instance found of a clock being installed in the belfry tower of a mission in northern California. The fact that the Jesuits were instructed to found a university at Santa Clara may have had some influence in its installation. Mr. Downie told me that he had removed from a tower at the San Carlos Mission two clock dials which had been plastered on to two sides of the tower.

One of the most satisfactory finds in the course of my investigation was a letter in the files at the California Historical Society. The letter, in Spanish, under the date of May 21, 1807, was written at the Mission San Jose by Father Narciso Durán, Padre in charge of the mission, to Father José Viñals (Father Viñals' address is not given, presumably he was at the College of San Fernando). The letter, as translated by Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter, Supervising Editor at the Society, reads as follows: "We have received the *memoria* and with it the clock which we needed so much. Both works and case, etc. arrived in good shape, save for some little pieces of the latter, which were easily fixed here." The rest of the letter described the difficulties encountered in setting the clock up and getting it going. From the description of the repairs and what had to be done to get it in running order, it can be known that it was probably a hanging clock with weights and a pendulum. Unfortunately, the name of the maker of the clock was not recorded.

Attention should be called to the sentence, "We have received the *memoria* and with it the clock which we needed so much." If needed so much at this mission, clocks would be equally needed at other missions. Thus this sentence affords strong evidence that clocks were commonly to be found at other missions. A *memoria* was the list or invoice of the things needed at a mission and usually sent to San Fernando College, Mexico, to be filled. When the articles were sent to the mission, the accompanying list was also called a *memoria*. It can therefore be seen

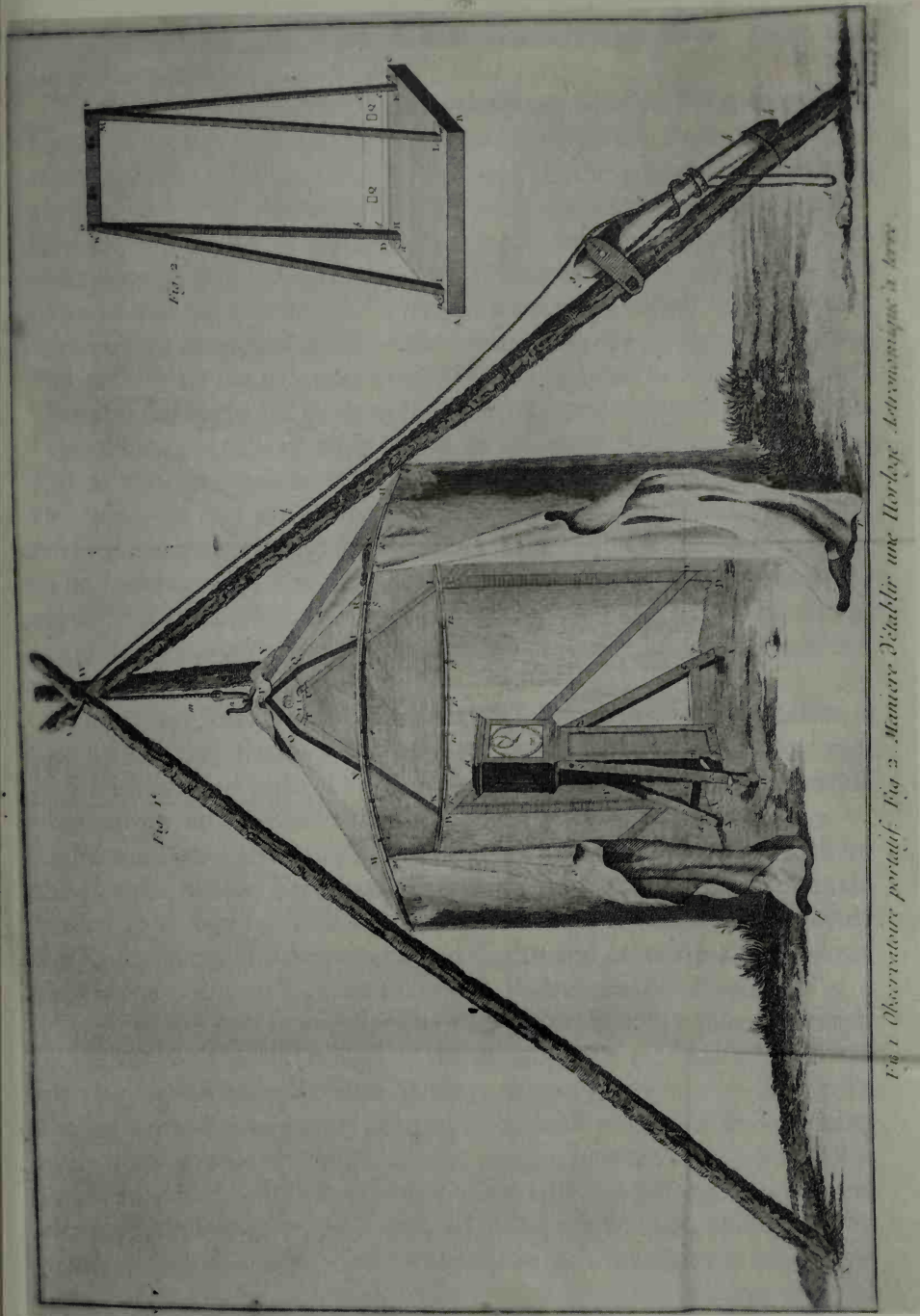
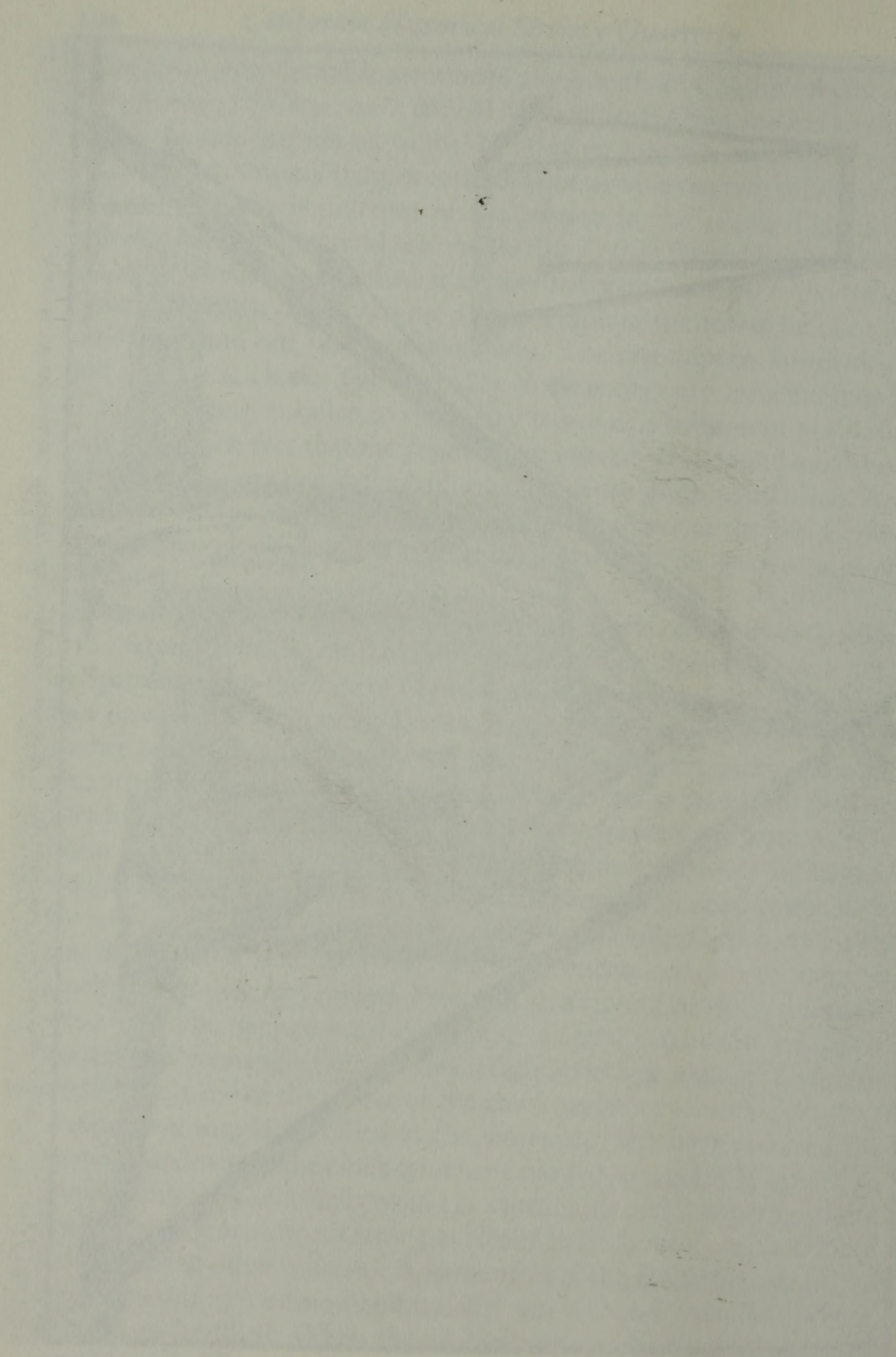


Fig. 1. Observatoire portable. Fig. 2. Manière d'établir une Horloge Astronomique à terre.

THE PORTABLE OBSERVATORY

which Captain James Cook carried with him on his voyages in the Pacific 1776-1779.

This reproduction was made from the French edition of his voyages.



1871
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting.
The names are given in alphabetical order.

THE SOCIETY OF THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

that a *memoria* was a reliable source of information about clocks at a particular mission.

Another source of information associating time with the missions is found in the accounts written by sea captains about their visits to the missions in the course of their voyages of discovery. At the time of these visits some of the captains would set up portable observatories on the land and bring their chronometers ashore to test their accuracy. These visits were sources of great joy to the Padres, who were hungry for news of the outside world. Often six months to a year would elapse between the receipt of letters. One can imagine the pleasure the Padres had in showing the captains around the mission and hearing their comments on the vegetable gardens and fruit trees and comparing them with vegetables and fruits of other places. Then in the evening, seated in the Padres' quarters, to hear the adventures and discoveries of the captains and, without any doubt the thrilling story of the chronometer, the trials of the inventor and the great boon the chronometer was proving to be to navigators. On some occasions a captain would remain overnight with the Padres and on the following morning take them to the portable observatory to see how nearly the results of the observations agreed with the chronometers.

Vancouver had four chronometers with him, all by English makers — one by Larcum Kendall and three by John Arnold. Vancouver also had with him an artist who drew excellent sketches of the portable observatory at San Carlos Mission at the time of his visit in 1792-3. La Pérouse was there in 1786 and he also had four chronometers, all by the French maker, Ferdinand Berthoud. In 1826 a third sea captain landed at Monterey. This was Captain Frederick William Beechey of the Royal Navy. He too visited San Carlos and other nearby missions, thereby giving much pleasure to the Padres. In his *Narration of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Straights*, Beechey gives an excellent account of many aspects of the missions. Of especial interest was his visit to San Juan Bautista Mission, where he spent two days with Father Arroyo. One paragraph about that visit stands out in bold relief in its bearing upon the topic of this article. It reads as follows: "The Padre appeared to be of an active mind, and had constructed a water clock which communicated with a bell by his bedside, and which by being arranged at night could be made to give an alarm at any stated hour." This clock is especially noteworthy for three reasons: It is the only one found made by a Padre in a California mission; of none other

do we know the name of the maker; and, thirdly, it is probably the first clock made in California.

The pleasant relations which the English and French voyagers enjoyed with the Padres appear to be lacking in the case of the Yankee captains in those early days. Their chief interest was in discharging their cargo and getting aboard a fresh one of hides, tallow, etc., in readiness for the return trip to the home port. The task of scurrying around and purchasing the hides and other products and assembling them at the ports of call fell to the agents of the companies owning the vessels. Thus the captains had little occasion to visit the missions. Dana in his *Two Years Before the Mast* mentions only one time that his captain visited a mission and the visit was a quick and cursory one.

It is now time to gather together the facts and inferences which have been uncovered about time-telling at the California missions before their despoliation. Since their restoration by the Catholic Church took place after the annexation of California to the United States, we know that the logical source of needed clocks would be supplied by the New England Yankees, who were not slow to recognize California as a market. Already they had begun shipments to California. The earliest found recorded, is in the files of the California Historical Society in the invoice of the ship *Vandalia* which arrived from Boston in 1843. All of these clocks had brass movements. Apparently not a single one of the clocks which were at the missions before the despoliation has survived. Should the Connecticut wood movement at the Santa Barbara Mission ever have proof adduced that it was there before the despoliation, it would be the single exception. The only one of the eight for which there is documentary proof of origin and its maker's name is the water clock which Father Arroyo made at Mission San Juan Bautista. The most natural and probable source of the remaining clocks known to have been at the missions and those inferred to have been there would be Spain. What about her ability to supply them? Did the Spaniards ever have opportunity to follow horological pursuits? Seldom does Spain's name appear in general horological literature and rarely is a Spanish clock seen in a horological collection. That she did at times attain distinction in this field is to be found chiefly in books published in Spain and in her own tongue. Concerning her ability to supply the needs of the missions, it so happens that following 102 years of misrule "ending in intellectual, moral and material degradation" Philip V appeared on the scene in 1700 and aroused Spain from her state of

decadence into material improvement; then, upon his death in 1759, he was succeeded by Charles III, who continued advances along these lines. This period, from 1759 to the end of the reign of Charles III in 1798, includes the most prosperous era of the missions, and in Spain's literature of the time, we find evidence that this was also one of Spain's most prosperous horological periods. Without doubt, Harrison's work and success with his marine timepiece contributed much to this revival. There was especial excitement and interest at the Naval Observatory at San Fernando, for Spain had long been a seafaring nation. By 1759, Padre Manuel Del Rio had written an important two-volume treatise "*Arte de Reloxes de Ruedas*," on the form and making of clock wheels. This is not the first instance of the clergy invading the field of horology.

In 1771, the Royal School of Watchmaking was founded at Madrid with Manuel Zerella e Ycoaga as director. Señor Ycoaga was also the author of a large and important book, "*Tratado General y Matemático de Reloxes*," a general and mathematical treatise on clock work. Both of these books were used as text books at the school, which lasted until 1831, and had a number of noteworthy graduates, some of whom went to England to work with the English chronometer makers, and others with Berthoud at Paris. Some of those who went abroad eventually returned, bringing back with them new horological ideas and in some instances new ideas of philosophy and of religion. With such a favorable situation, there would seem to be no reasonable doubt that Spain could and did make most of the clocks at the missions, even including the controversial chiming clock; but a more likely source for this clock would have been the Black Forest. Spain did make many of the chronometers for her ships.⁷

Just what form the ordinary run of clocks at the missions took has not been definitely found, but in my judgment they were hanging clocks as being best suited for their probable setting. The most probable location was the wall of the dining room which doubled as an assembly room or hall. There, a hanging clock would be out of harm's way and easily seen.

The description of the repairs and setting up of the Mission San Jose clock gives some excellent evidence that it was a hanging clock. If we follow Mrs. Webb's translation of *un reloj de sala* as a parlor clock—when referring to the three cited as being at Missions San Francisco Solano, Santa Barbara and Santa Clara—the natural assumption would be that they were shelf clocks as being best suited for a parlor, but we

must bear in mind that the old early missions had nothing in any way resembling a parlor. However, a more primary meaning of *sala* is a hall, an assembly hall, etc. With this translation, we have a hall clock to which hanging would suitably apply.

To sum up the matter, apparently there is no clock in existence authoritatively antedating the despoliation from which to judge the form; but from the standpoint of applicability, suitability, and location, a striking hanging clock was the probable form.

The original sundials may, like the clocks, all be gone. However, in the garden of San Juan Bautista Mission, upon a pedestal, is a rather crude square dial of sandstone. The gnomon is missing and the markings are becoming faint, due to the effects of the weather and the ravages of time. From its character and appearance there is justification for believing that it predates the plundering and may have been made by the Padres. There is apparently no written record of its age or origin, just a general assumption that it is one of the old original dials.

Under date of 1922 Alice Morse Earle writes in her book *Sundials and Roses of Yesterday*: "One [sundial] is in the ancient Mission of San Juan Bautista, San Benito County; it was brought by pious padres from Spain in 1794, and is the official clock of the Mission." We may be sure that this dial of which Mrs. Earle has written is not the one now at the mission. There is ground for wonderment as to its whereabouts during the three years which elapsed between its arrival in this country and the founding of the mission in 1797.

There can be little doubt that the Padres made some of the dials at the missions—a task which was well within the ability of many of them. To construct a simple dial one had only to know the latitude of the mission and, the north, by which to set it, was easily obtained from the north star. But whether made on the spot or sent in, each mission had a sundial.

There is less reason for surprise that the sundials have not survived than in the case of the clocks when we bear in mind that all the sundials were outdoors, exposed to the elements and some of them of perishable material. The vast majority of them lay flat upon pedestals or other supports and could be knocked over. The few upright ones were attached to the mission buildings which, in most instances, were constructed of adobe, and even if the dial were of bronze or other durable material it could have been cast down by one of the numerous earthquakes and destroyed or buried in the debris.

The only other factor contributing to their disappearance which needs to be cited is that as time passed the Indians, for whom the dials were primarily made, gradually learned to tell time by the clock and no longer relied upon the sundials. Also during the last few years of the missions, most of the Indians had left the missions and so if a dial was damaged or fell down, it was not replaced. Thus, one of the romantic features of the old missions gradually disappeared. Happily, with their restoration, many dials have been installed.

That the Padres, in the face of the disheartening difficulties which attended secularization of the missions, were able to carry on as long as they did, speaks volumes for their zeal, tenacity and courage in carrying the torch of the beginnings of civilization into what was to become the great State of California.

Placed not alone in the cloisters of the missions, but also in the public parks of the state, and even in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol at Washington, are statues of the man who was most responsible for the founding of the beautiful chain of missions, Father Junipero Serra. Another man, also faced with discouraging difficulties, harassments and incessant labor, but likewise imbued with zeal, tenacity of purpose and courage, was successful in attaining his humanitarian goal of providing shipping with an instrument indispensable to safety. No statues have been erected in his honor, but every great ship at sea, even today, carries one or more of his chronometers, thus in a more practical way, keeping green the memory of John Harrison.

NOTES

1. One of the pleasures in writing an article on a subject of such general interest as the Old California Missions is the opportunity to meet again old friends and to make new ones in the search for information. To both of these groups I owe a debt of gratitude for their kindly reception and for the information they were able to give me. A few of those who were of especial help were: Dr. L. G. Wilson for many references and the loan of books from his library of California; Mrs. Edith Buckland Webb for information and suggestion; Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., of the Santa Barbara Mission for written replies to my inquiries; Bishop Merlin J. Guilfoyle of Dolores Mission for his willingness to discuss the matter with me and for his gift of Engelhardt's separate volume on Dolores; Rev. Arthur D. Spearman, S.J., of Santa Clara University, for his cooperation and search of records for me; several other Fathers whom I met at the various

missions, all of whom received me kindly; Mr. Harry Downie, archeologist at Carmel Mission—he was most gracious to me and told me much of interest about the mission; Miss Gladys Wickson, former editor of the California Historical Society Quarterly, for reading the manuscript and offering suggestions; Mrs. Irene D. Paden, author of *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* and other books, for critical reading of the manuscript; my good friends, Mr. and Mrs. Urban Thielmann for taking me to visit some of the missions and for making several books available to me.

2. This account of John Harrison and the chronometer is based upon the reading of horological literature for over fifty years. Only three of the sources need be mentioned. They are (1) the *British Horological Journal* which had accounts through its long and continuing career; (2) a book and lecture by Commander Rupert T. Gould, R.N., Retired: *The Marine Chronometer, Its History and Development*, 1923, and *John Harrison and His Timekeepers*, a lecture given in 1935. These two give a comprehensive account of Harrison and a description of the four timekeepers which Harrison invented and made. Gould knew more about these machines than any other man except Harrison. (3) *An Appeal to the Public Stating Mr. Thomas Earnshaw's Claim to the Original Invention of the Improvements in His Timekeeper* (this is commonly called *Earnshaw's Appeal*). This book of over 300 pages was printed in London in 1808. It sets forth the claim to priority in the invention of an improvement of Harrison's escapement—the heart of the chronometer. It is Earnshaw's model of the escapement that appears in most chronometers to the present day. Thomas Earnshaw was a participant in the bitter wrangles among the watchmakers themselves and between them and the Board of Longitude.

3. In his diary of the journey to San Diego, Serra describes in detail the extent and severity of the excruciating pain in the left leg and foot; however, he does not mention the muleteer experience. This latter incident I have found in several sources, but no note as to who made the original record of the incident. Writings of Junipero Serra, Academy of American Franciscan History. Vol. 1, p. 65.

4. Palou's *Life of Junipero Serra*, Translated and Annotated by Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D., p. 84.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 92 and 93.

6. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, 1886. Vol. 3, p. 131-132.

7. The information about the Spanish books on horology and the Royal School of Watchmaking was found in Volumes II and IV of a series of books on Spanish horological history under the general title of *Biblioteca Literaria Relojera* edited by Roberto Carbonell Blasco and published in Madrid, Vol. II in 1954 and Vol. IV in 1956.

A Belgian in the Gold Rush

A Memoir by Dr. J. J. F. Haine

Translated, with an Introduction,

By JAN ALBERT GORIS

INTRODUCTION

ON OCTOBER 1848, the *Journal du Commerce d'Anvers* published the following notice concerning the discovery of gold in California:

According to the news from California, this entire state is in a high pitch of excitement. A large part of the population is leaving to seek gold! It appears that an inexhaustible mine of the precious metal has been found on the banks of the Sacramento River, and that the river itself is richer than the Pactolus River. Thus all the inhabitants, no matter to what class they belong, are going away, pick and shovel in hand, to snatch the treasure from the earth and the water. The cost of these implements has risen by more than 200 per cent. The makers of edge-tools are earning up to 100 Fr. a day.

In San Francisco, capital of California, three-fourths of the houses are deserted as a result of this unusual emigration. Masters no longer find servants; manufacturers, their workmen; businessmen, their salesmen. Everyone is running towards the new Eldorado.

No historical study has been made of the impact of this exciting news in Belgium. It is known, however, that a few Belgians rushed to the scene. One of them, Dr. Jean Joseph François Haine, arrived in San Francisco on January 10, 1850 and remained in California until the end of his career. In 1883, having probably retired from practice, he lectured on his experiences before the *Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers*. We have translated his contribution to the history of California which contains some valuable information.

Dr. Haine was born in Antwerp in 1809. He belonged to a well-known family, one of his uncles was a catholic prelate, Mgr. Antoine Haine. Dr. Haine obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine in Louvain University on July 8, 1833 and in February 1835 he became a doctor of obstetrics. He arrived in San Francisco at the age of 41; his name is listed in the San Francisco Medical Directory from 1852 to 1883. He became

a naturalized citizen at an unknown date and his name figures in the list of voters. He contributed medical articles to the *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* (March 1869 and November 1877) and to the *San Francisco Medical Press* (April and July 1860). Three of his addresses are known: in 1856 he lived at 228 Washington Street, in 1866 at 132 Geary, and in 1877 at 415 Sutter Street. At one time, he was connected with the French Hospital. He probably left San Francisco in 1882 and spent two years in Germany from 1882 to 1885. He died in Belgium in 1891.

A Belgian painter Théodore T'Scharner (1826-1900) who was a great traveler, visited California between 1850 and 1853. It is known that he brought back a series of about forty drawings made in and around San Francisco and a number of watercolors. Unfortunately the sketchbook is lost and all efforts to trace it have been in vain. A few reproductions of these valuable drawings are contained in a book Edmond De Bruyn wrote about the painter in 1908 (Brussels). They show miners in a forest (March 1851), a view of Grey Eagle City, the interior of an inn with four miners in San Francisco (February 1851), and a group of naked Indians in Georgetown (sic). Their documentary and artistic value makes the loss of the entire series the more regrettable.

The way in which the Gold Rush became best known in Belgium was through the popular novel *Het Goudland* by the great Flemish writer Hendrik Conscience (1812-1883), which was published in Antwerp in 1862. Conscience enjoyed a worldwide reputation and his many works were translated into several European languages. Practically all his books appeared in American translation. The most famous was *The Lion of Flanders* which is still in print; it is an epic tale of the fight of Flanders against France in the 14th century, conceived in the romantic style of Walter Scott. Conscience's European popularity was so great that some of his foreign publishers brought out some of his books in an incomplete form. The French edition of *Het Goudland*, entitled *Le Pays de l'Or*, gives but half the text of the Dutch original and stops in the middle of the story. The novel was also popular in America where it was published in three editions. It appeared for the first time in Boston, in 1883, under the title *The Boys of the Sierra. Or The Young Gold Hunters. A Story of California in '49*. Dana Estes and Company brought out a second edition the following year. In 1884, a London publishing house published an adaptation entitled *Off to California. A Tale of the Gold Country*. It appeared in an American edition in New York, in 1884. The

story tells the adventures of three Flemish boys, two shipping clerks from Antwerp and a droll country bumpkin from the Kempen, who leave their country for California in 1849, who encounter many dangerous adventures there and who come back home as penniless as they left. Although the moral is obvious, Conscience does not seem to disapprove of the adventurous spirit that inspired his heroes.

Since the author never set foot in California, the way in which he describes life during the Gold Rush is not of great value, although it is evident that he carefully documented himself; he quotes many figures and illustrates his story with all kinds of picturesque details which made his book acceptable to an American public. The real significance of *Het Goudland* resides in the description of the conditions under which the European '49ers went on their quest for gold. The three heroes of the story are induced to go to San Francisco through the advertising campaign of a French Company "La Californienne." This Company offers transportation, second class, good food on the way, a comfortable wooden house in California and two shares in the mining Company for 2,000 Francs. Third class accommodation and one share are to be had for 1,200 Francs.

Most passengers on the *Jonas* are Frenchmen from the North, very few are Belgians. At night, after leaving Antwerp, the Captain stops the ship at Calloo, a village on the Scheldt river, and embarks, illegally, fifty more passengers mostly Frenchmen. As a result, the sleeping quarters are cramped and the food situation is critical from the very beginning of the trip. This clandestine arrangement leaves the Captain and the crew a profit of 30,000 to 40,000 Francs.

The trip to San Francisco takes six months. The description of the hardships suffered by the passengers is vivid: not only is the ocean rough, the food insufficient and monotonous, but riots break out, typhoid fever kills a dozen men and the passengers rebel.

In San Francisco, the three heroes discover that La Californienne has gone bankrupt and that they are strictly on their own. After working for a while as common laborers, they start out on their trek along the Sacramento river where highly dramatic adventures await them.

The sources on which Conscience based his novel are not known but it is possible that he met Dr. Haine and was documented by this well informed Californian.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I PROMISED your honorable president, Colonel Wauwermans, to give you a talk on California and San Francisco. This task seems to me to be a harder one to fulfill than I had at first anticipated. In fact, there is so much to say on this country, which is almost unknown and where so many surprising and almost unbelievable things have occurred with such rapidity, that it would take entire volumes adequately to describe the events which took place during the early years of the discovery of gold. Everything was so out of the ordinary that I very much fear I will be accused of exaggeration in stating faithfully what I was able to observe from the moment of my arrival in San Francisco, on 10 January, 1850.

I do not at all pretend to do complete justice to all that took place at this time, but I can at least assure you that everything I say will be exact.

The town of San Francisco was then known as Yerba Buena City, called after a plant of the same name which grows abundantly in California. It is situated to the west of a large bay, named likewise, and at the northern point of the peninsula which is between the southern part of the bay and the Pacific Ocean. Starting from the water's edge, the land rises gradually for more than half a mile towards the west and south-west, until it reaches a mountain range more than five hundred feet high. Towards the northern part of the city there is a huge irregular rock of five hundred feet, which descends almost straight to the edge of the sea and which later received the name of Telegraph Hill. In front of this rock is the best mooring ground, sheltered by the high land and protecting ships at anchor from the damages of the west winds, which blow steadily during the summer season.

Between this rock and the forementioned mountains, there is a small valley which is almost on a level and which joins a smaller cove, about a half mile nearer the ocean. The rock forms the north-western limit of the valley, and on the eastern limit is another rock, called Rincon, which is only about fifty feet high. Towards the south and the south-west of this last mentioned point, there is a succession of small sand hills, abundantly covered with shrubs and trees peculiar to California (especially evergreen oaks). In San Francisco and the environs these trees become scraggly because of the winds prevailing during the summer. Among the shrubs there is an abundance of poison oak.

This plant is very dangerous, especially in the beginning of the summer, when it is full of seed. One has barely to touch it, and several hours later the effects are felt. These effects show themselves differently in

different persons. With some there is simply a light swelling of certain parts, accompanied by more or less severe itching, but no fever; with others, there are varying degrees of fever, sometimes even delirium. In this case there is a swelling of all the parts of the body and especially the genital organs. Death is most generally the outcome of these extreme cases, and occurred often in the early days of the immigration to California. Since then, the effects of this plant have been brought under control. A remarkable thing: some persons are so subject to it in certain seasons that they have only to be exposed for several instants to the wind coming from the plant in order to feel the most pernicious effects. Horses, especially those of Californian race, are very fond of poison oak. They eat a considerable quantity of it without its disturbing them.

The area of the town in 1847 was $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from north to south, and two miles from east to west.

Commencing at the edge of the sea, the streets are in straight alignment and are crossed at right angles by other parallel streets which descend toward the sea.

The squares thus formed are divided in lots of three kinds:

1. *Beach and water lots.*—The lots thus designated are those which are situated between the mark of the high and low tides. They have a frontage of $16\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* and are 50 *varas* deep. A *vara* is a Spanish yard, equal to $33\frac{1}{3}$ English inches. These lots were sold for 50 to 600 piastres. There were roughly 450, of which 200 were sold in the month of July, 1847.

The terms of payment were: a quarter down, another quarter six months later, the third quarter six months after that, and the final quarter at the end of the next six months. The unpaid balance was liable to 10% interest as of the date of the sale.

Approximately $\frac{4}{5}$ of these lots are entirely submerged at high tide. Few persons, except Americans, considered it worthwhile to buy completely submerged lots. The future was to show how right the Yankees were, for the most important part of the town of San Francisco, i.e. the business section, now stretches far out into the bay.

2. *Fifty vara lots.*—These lots formed the greatest part of the town proper. They are 50 *varas* deep and have a frontage of 50 feet. Six of these lots constitute a square. Around 450 lots were sold by the *alcalde* at a fixed price for each.

The price established by law was \$12 per lot, plus \$3.625 for incidental costs, making a total of \$15.625.

The conditions of sale were that the buyer should fence in his lot and build a house on it within a year, or else the lot would revert to the town.

3. *Hundred vara lots.*—The eastern part of the town was divided into lots of 100 square *varas*. These lots form the largest group of all, and this section of town is probably the last which will be embellished by the proprietors. Most of these lots were sold at the fixed price of \$25 each, plus \$3.625 for incidental costs.

The money received for these lots was used to pay communal expenses.

The width of the streets in the old part of town was unfortunately only 60 feet. Later they were widened to 75 feet. It is now a source of great regret that the streets were made so narrow when there was actually enough room to have wider ones. But at that time no one could foresee that the village of San Francisco, which in 1847 had a population of 459, would in 1881 be the great city of San Francisco, with a population of 335,000 inhabitants, and with sure prospects of growing steadily and becoming one of the greatest cities of the United States.

In 1847 the law prohibited an individual to own more than one lot, but later, as the result of many subterfuges, the law was evaded and then abolished, and speculators made enormous fortunes.

Statistics show that in the month of June, 1847, there were 459 inhabitants, among whom 26 Indians of various ages, 39 dwellers of the Sandwich Islands, nine negroes and 228 Americans.

The nationalities represented included 228 Americans, 38 Californians, 22 English, 27 Germans, 14 Irish, six Swiss, two Chileans, three French, etc. No Belgians.

There existed at that time 30 primitive houses of very little value. In addition, there were 20 under construction, and it is from this core that, 34 years later, sprang the beautiful and noble town of San Francisco. Allow me to be a bit enthusiastic in speaking of this town whose birth I witnessed and which will always claim my warmest affection, even as a child its mother's.

A man of great talent, a noble writer, Mr. E. Gilbert, who was unfortunately taken from his friends and his country in a duel over a political question, made the following prediction: "I cannot help saying that San Francisco is destined to become the commercial emporium of the northern coast of the Pacific. With the advantages of its beautiful port and

with the help of the enterprising spirit of its race of intelligent pioneers, there can be no doubt as to the result. Monterey seems to be disputing the laurels, which is quite obviously impossible.

1. San Francisco has a safer and more convenient port than has Monterey.

2. The waters of the bay offer easier communication and better means of transport between the town and the hundreds of lateral valleys which surround the bay and which are destined soon to become the graneries and hives of abundance.

3. San Francisco has also easy communication by water with the rich and large valleys of San Joaquin, of Sacramento and the American Fork, for all these rivers are tributaries of the bay.

As concerns Monterey, the region is certainly beautiful, but it has none of these facilities for access to and transportation of its products; whereas San Francisco and its outlying regions possess all the required qualities. This, all other things being equal, strikes me as giving San Francisco an overwhelming advantage."

The predictions of the unfortunate Mr. Gilbert were completely justified before a year had passed. The things I have just told you are taken mostly from the *California Star*. There is in my possession a copy of No. 34 of this newspaper, dated August 28, 1847. It is probably the only copy still in existence. I have often been offered much money for it, that it might be preserved in the archives of San Francisco, but I have not wanted to part with it.

On January 18, 1848, some men who were building a water mill near Sacramento, for General Sutter, a Swiss, found some yellow particles when turning over the earth. Upon examination, these miraculously proved to be gold. A further search was made, and more was found. It was sought everywhere, and found everywhere. Was it an illusion? Was it a reality? These were questions which those who made the great discovery quite naturally asked themselves.

When it was established beyond doubt that it was a reality, the first thought was to hold the discovery a secret, but this was impossible.

The joy was so great, the reality was so extraordinary. A dream of the *Thousand and One Nights* had become true. Gold and more gold, gold everywhere. It was only a question of working and washing the earth to find gold in smaller or larger quantities, in powder, in grains, in nuggets of greater or less weights, in pure gold, or mixed with quartz. These nuggets sometimes weighed 10, 20, 30, 100 pounds and more and often had a value of 10, 15 or 20 thousand piastres, or more.

Was it possible for ordinarily communicative men to keep the secret of such a grandiose and unbelievable discovery? No, a thousand times no. The whole world was soon to participate in gathering the treasure which had lain hidden for so long in the mountains, the valleys, the rivers of this almost unknown country named California, which is certainly one of the most beautiful countries of the earth.

What happened after the first and entirely legitimate astonishment over the famous discovery? The secret was hardly let out before from all corners of California men, women and children left all, abandoned all, to come gather gold. The news spread, but so rapidly, by so many different routes, that soon the whole world became informed of the discovery, and from all corners of the globe persons began arriving, persons who were greedy to gather gold with comparatively little labor, and a few months later California was a hotchpotch of all the peoples of the world.

It was in October 1848 that the news came to us in Antwerp. I read a long article on the subject in the *Journal du Commerce d'Anvers*. I shall never forget the impression that this article made on me, and I well recall saying to myself: "If this news is true and confirmed, I have decided to go." Soon the newspapers of the time gave further details on the wonders, which were believed to be fabulous and impossible, and corroborated the veracity of the early statements.

It was thus true, there was a country where gold was so plentiful that with a little effort it could be found in abundance.

I was dazzled, like so many others. My decision was soon taken. Everyone disapproved of me. I had many obstacles to surmount; I was called a visionary, touched with madness. What? Abandon the position I had already established? Leave the country of my birth, desert my family to go adventuring in a far-distant and savage country—these and many other objections were made, but I remained firm and left Antwerp on 10 April, 1849, on board the *Charles Quint*, Captain Sheridan. I was entrusted with a medical and scientific mission by Mr. Charles Rogier, then Minister of the Interior. [The *Charles Quint* was a threemaster built at Vegesack (Bremen) in 1831. Her port was Antwerp. She belonged to the shipping line Catteaux-Wattel of Antwerp and measured 488 ton.]

We had a pleasant journey, but quite long. It took us just nine months to get to San Francisco, a trip that today can be made in sixteen days.

We stopped at three ports: (first) three weeks in Rio de Janeiro, (then) ten weeks at Valparaiso, and (thirdly) three weeks in Peru.

At the time of our arrival in the bay, nine ships were following us, and the number of those at anchor was incredible.

Hardly had we cast anchor, when a multitude of small craft surrounded the ship and in less than a half hour, the entire crew had deserted, leaving their wages and everything they possessed behind on the ship. This habit of desertion was general, and the means of preventing it non-existent. The passengers were obliged to unload their baggage themselves, by means of the ship's boats which the captains had to provide for the purpose.

One of our passengers, having left our ship at Valparaiso, embarked on the French boat, *le César*, because it sailed directly to San Francisco, whereas we had to stop in Peru; thus he arrived more than a month before us and, at the end of this time, seemed to have acquired a very broad experience of all that was happening in the fairylike city of San Francisco. Our astonishment was great for, knowing him to be destitute of money, we could only be agreeably surprised at seeing him in possession of a great deal of gold, earned since his arrival. The marvels that he related to us were truly amazing and almost beyond belief, and so each of us listened avidly and was filled with courage. Our enthusiasm was at high pitch. We landed in a small boat with which he had provided himself, to go to explore the future field of our labors. Since it was the rainy season, the city did not present a favorable appearance. Wooden houses, tents, here and there a two-story house, looking as if it belonged to an ever so slightly civilized era. The streets were in a deplorable state, with two or three feet of liquid mud, exhaling a noisome odor. The sidewalks, made of all kinds of materials, overturned barrels and boxes mixed up with bits of board, offered little security to pedestrians, who, at the least neglect of precautionary measures, would sink into the mud.

Impossible to give an accurate description of the inhabitants, except that they were all more or less untidy, looking like bandits and armed vagabonds. All the peoples of the world had contributed an element of their countries' customs. The greater number were conspicuous by a kind of recklessness which indicated that, in this new country, there was no rule to follow as to the manner of dressing, except that of being exceedingly slovenly and of looking fierce and ready to defend oneself at a moment's notice, for almost everybody wore at least a pair of revolvers and a dagger. At the slightest provocation, bloody brawls

occurred, a man's death followed, and usually the culprit escaped. It could not have been otherwise. No order, no police, each man made his own justice, and victory belonged to the strongest, to the most skillful, or to the most crafty.

The ubiquitous Chinese was found in great numbers in San Francisco, he followed all trades, he was always industrious, always ready to "catchee muchee money." Several Chinese restaurants were established in San Francisco. Men of all colors, of all nations, came to take their meals in these restaurants, which were of primitive construction. A square tent, with long benches and tables of unpolished wood, poorly nailed together, for the only furniture.

As to the restaurants run by Americans, French, Germans, Mexicans, etc., they were almost as badly kept as those of the Chinese. What shall I say of the food? A complete absence of vegetables, hardly a potato, for they cost a piastre [\$1.00] a pound, and what potatoes! Onions made a rare appearance, they were priceless. I have seen four little cabbages, very old and very yellow, coming from God knows where, sold for four piastres apiece. (Little apples from the Sandwich Islands sold for 2 piastres apiece; as to their savor and taste, a total absence.) Oranges, although abundant, also cost a piastre apiece. But, what difference did one piastre make? They were earned so easily.

As to meat, it was abundant. There was game of all kinds, including bears weighing as much as 2500 pounds. Roe and fallow deer, hares and rabbits were superabundant. Fish was scarce, we did not bother to fish; working in the mines was more agreeable and more productive. The drink at meals was water, tea, coffee and, among the Spanish population, chocolate. Wine was conspicuous by its absence, the cost was exorbitant. English beer cost 2 and 3 piastres a bottle. An egg was sold for a piastre. Allow me to tell you the following anecdote: two new arrivals probably having been without fresh food for a long time entered a restaurant where I was having lunch. They ordered beefsteak, an omelet with 12 eggs and a bottle of Porter, coffee without milk, since it cost the inevitable piastre a bottle, and such milk! They devoured their princely meal with a voracious appetite. "How much, waiter?" "Eighteen piastres, Sir." "Confound it! eighteen piastres! ninety francs! How's that? You're making a mistake." "Not at all, Sir. Here is the account: an omelet with 12 eggs at a piastre each makes 12. Two Porterhouse steaks at a piastre each, 14; beer, 3 piastres, 17; coffee, bread and butter, one piastre: that makes exactly 18 piastres."

They looked at each other; what should they do? They had ten piastres between them and the bill was settled by leaving a silver watch. Of a surety, those gentlemen, thenceforth, abstained from omelets with 12 Californian eggs.

During the first four or five years, many people achieved an income of four to five hundred piastres a month, by raising chickens which sold for from ten to fifteen piastres apiece; thus, one was well overcharged for a meal which included a chicken. A very ordinary meal, without wine or beer, cost between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and two piastres. For a little choicer meal with wine, the lowest price was 10 piastres, going as high as 50 piastres per person, especially when it was washed down with more or less genuine champagne, at the rate of 10 piastres for the smallest bottle.

After three or four years, the high cost of living became more reasonable, and in 1882, one could live in California for less than in Europe, all according to circumstances, however. To give you an example in passing, I shall tell you that several days before my departure, I dined in a good, smart French restaurant for 25 cents or a quarter of a piastre for the meal. The menu contained soup, fish, three meat dishes with vegetables according to the season, varied desserts, a half bottle of wine, plenty of bread and butter, and, to finish, a demi-tasse and Cognac or Kirsch. As you see, other times, other prices. As for the one who wishes to live well, he must pay well and very well, even in 1882, with this difference that, instead of having to spend enormous sums of money without the slightest comfort, as in the early days in California, he can be surrounded with every imaginable luxury, but he must pay for value received.

After this digression, let us return to our first day in San Francisco.

As I have already said, the city was inhabited by a smattering of all the peoples of the earth; also, costumes were varied and all the known languages spoken, but especially English. The coming and going had a special quality, everyone seemed to be in a hurry, and as it was impossible to flounder in the middle of the streets because of the mud, it was necessary to walk on the sidewalks; but these being quite narrow and in very bad condition, a misstep was soon made, the result of which was generally a bath in the liquid mud, and the unhappy victim, instead of inspiring sympathy by his plight, usually provoked an explosion of wild laughter, to the delight of the passersby. After several weeks stay in San Francisco, I saw a Mexican lady who ventured to cross a street, she was wearing boots; hardly had she taken a few steps, when one of

her boots remained in the mud. Wishing to retrieve it, she lost the other, then floundered and fell. A good Samaritan, sacrificing himself, went to pick up the señorita, but Caramba! in what a state! !

During the rainy season, it was impossible to do anything about this state of things. It was pitiful to see the poor horses pulling their loads with difficulty through three and four feet of mud. So, to give them courage, and perhaps strength, the whip was in constant use, accompanied by deep cries in different languages from their drivers.

This noise, together with that of the bells calling people to auctions or public sales and the horrible racket of the Chinese gongs summoning the hungry to the restaurants, struck the ear very disagreeably; but, eventually, one became used to it and paid it no further attention.

Our first day left us with impressions that are difficult to put in words. Money disappeared quickly, which caused us to make some serious reflexions. Among others, would it be possible to earn enough to meet the required expenses? Fortunately, the question was soon answered in the affirmative. The next day, we had to return to the ship for our baggage. Twenty piastres put a boat at our disposal.

The day following, the captain loaned us his boat; there we were, five of us, our baggage carefully stowed away, leaving the *Charles Quint* and rowing as well as we could to shore. We anchored in Montgomery Street. Later the city extended for more than a half mile into the bay. We were astonished to find our deserting sailors, gay as larks, with fairly well-filled purses. Passengers were continually arriving, and the sailors helped them carry their luggage. Having soon learned the cost of labor, they rapidly increased their treasure, and to give you an idea: they charged us *only* twenty piastres, because we were friends, to carry our baggage from the boat in Montgomery Street. It is true that it was through the mud. A wagon took it to our quarters, a five-minute walk away, for 22 piastres. We settled ourselves like California princes in a room eight feet wide by ten feet long for the sum of 120 piastres a month. Our furnishings were our baggage, our beds, the floor with several mattresses thereon, and very happy we were to be so elegantly provided for. The world, and by that I mean California, was before us; now, the quest for social position. After several days of walking and investigation, I found on Clay Street, a room on the third floor, 12 feet square, for 150 piastres a month. It was appalling, but it was mine to take or leave.

A bed, a table, four chairs, all very simple, made up my elegant furniture, which I acquired myself.

My companions, who were merchants and had goods aboard, had them brought at incredible prices to a store with a ten foot front and a depth of 20 feet, renting for nine hundred piastres a month. For beds, they hung hammocks from the ceiling in the evening.

The rents, which might seem exaggerated, were not at all so at that time. One of my friends, who is now in Paris, rented his store with a 30 foot front and a depth of 75 feet, for 1300 piastres a month—the whole thing was of oiled canvas. The great fire of May 4, 1850, which destroyed more than three-fourths of the city, did not spare us any more than the others, so we possessed very little real estate the day after the fire. Many stores had been rented for two to three thousand piastres a month; unfortunately the fire, which respects nothing, destroyed everything, and those who were rich in the morning, in the evening no longer possessed anything.

To give you an idea, Ladies and Gentlemen, how quickly things happened at that time, I shall take the liberty of speaking to you for a moment of myself. Two days after my installation, I fastened my sign, a copper plaque that I had brought from Europe, to the front of the house.

I must tell you that, because of the foul condition of the streets which gave off noxious smells, numerous people were ill, affected particularly by a serious dysentery which very often proved fatal. This wasn't at all surprising in view of the circumstances in which the unfortunate invalids found themselves. Thus, there was an almost lack of care, of cleanliness, of any help whatever. All being strangers to one another, no one concerned himself with his neighbor.

Rooming houses, where one slept for a piastre a night, were numerous. There, packed together in three or four bunks placed one over the other, leaving a space of two feet from one to the other, for it was necessary to conserve space, were crammed together the first comers, whether well or ill, provided they paid their piastre. Unhappy the one who was ill, or became so. No care; scarcely a little water after having waited for it perhaps an entire day, for there wasn't any time to bother with the sick; it was preferred that they should go away. But where? I assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that on entering these wretched places, devoid of fresh air, but filled with the pestilential breath of that mass of humanity, one felt smothered and was indeed glad to get out to breathe a little fresh air. It is not surprising that, for these unhappy invalids, so alone, so far from their native country, having, generally,

few pecuniary resources, discouragement was almost universal and they became an easy prey to death. The picture is sad, but it is accurate.

Perhaps two hours after I had hung my sign, a gentleman asked me to go to see one of his friends, a merchant. I went, and at the back of the store, in a little corner just big enough to put a small bed surrounded by a dirty curtain, I found my sick man, to whom I immediately observed that the place was hardly suitable for a sick person. The answer was, "I have no other." So, one must take things as they come.

After examining the patient and writing the prescription, I wished to withdraw. My invalid requested me to return in the afternoon, but I told him that I considered that an unnecessary expense, that a little time was needed to recuperate from the illness, and that the price of the visit was one ounce (90 francs). The rather brusque (blunt) reply was, "I have plenty of gold ounces, Doctor; you will come, please, when I ask you to." "All right." I returned towards evening, my patient was no worse. After giving a few instructions, I wished to withdraw, but my impatient patient told me to come back between six and eleven o'clock that evening. When I answered that night visits cost five gold ounces, my patient again observed shortly that he had no lack of gold ounces, that he begged me, for the last time, to come to see him when he ordered it, and that, if I neither could nor would come, he would get another doctor. My decision was quickly taken. "I will come; only," I said to myself, "we shall see if you will be just as generous when your bill arrives." The illness lasted five days; on the sixth, I found the invalid before his bed, saying he was much better except for a great weakness. I prescribed diet and treatment to be followed. He asked for my bill. There's the hitch! I took my notebook. As my patient, during these five days, had claimed my services very and even much too often, especially during the night, I equivocated and dawdled a bit. I was afraid of quarreling. "Look, Doctor," he said, "can't you find your bill? Here, I'll help you. I am an orderly man, I've taken note of your visits, day and night, and I find that I owe you 486 piastres; is that right?" "Perfect, Sir." He gave me the choice of gold dust or money; I preferred the latter, not liking the looks of gold dust very much.

You see, Ladies and Gentlemen, that since that was how things went, I hardly had to fear the large expenses to be made. I could cite a number of similar examples, but I shall confine myself to one only, fearing to abuse your patience. Several days thereafter, I was called in to deliver a baby aboard a ship anchored in the bay. For my services, I received

five hundred piastres, which then was the regular charge for such cases.

For the laborer, the mechanic, and all work in general, the smallest salary was one ounce of gold a day; you really could say that everything was paid for in gold.

Allow me to tell you one more anecdote. Some of our deserting sailors, finding themselves in possession of some money and wishing to act quickly, got together and decided to set up an open air café in imitation of several others already in existence which were very prosperous; so, by means of several empty boxes which served as a counter, and the necessary utensils to make coffee, which was sold for two réals a cup, my jolly fellows rapidly harvested piastres, despite the tax of ten piastres a day for the license. After having made a fair profit, they sold their establishment in order to betake themselves to the mines.

Among all sorts of individuals of every condition, Jack Tar was generally luckiest, the reason being that, to extract gold, strong, robust men were needed, qualities usually possessed by sailors, while the rest of the miners left much to be desired, and, indeed, often succumbed under the strain; thus, those who were unsuccessful, or incapable of enduring the work, or discouraged, or sick, returned to San Francisco, saying, "This is the end; there is no more, or almost no more gold," whereas my vigorous and courageous Jack Tar returned with purses weighty with gold dust. Only, he rarely knew how to guard his fortune, so painfully but quickly acquired. Gambling, drink, women, often took everything from him by the end of a few days, and happy was he if he escaped safe and sound from his experience.

Speaking of gambling, Ladies and Gentlemen, let us pause for a moment on this sad sequel to the discovery of gold in California.

In the mines, in the small and in the large cities, gambling, gambling, always gambling. The gambling halls in San Francisco were something marvelous. Large halls magnificently embellished, music that was often exquisite, for a good musician was paid a thousand piastres a month and more. Day and night, crowds surrounded the gaming tables. These tables were covered with piles of gold ounces and bags of gold dust. No silver money whatsoever. Before these tables sat beautiful Mexican señoritas, playing with unruffled composure while smoking their small cigars; sometimes, they accumulated large piles of gold, but, more often, their own were taken from them.

One day, I saw a Mexican dismount from his horse in front of one of the most famous gambling establishments, called "La Bella Union."

He entered and I followed him. It was quite crowded although it was the middle of the day. As soon as he entered, he sat down at a table, took a leather pouch containing at least ten pounds gold out of his pocket and placed it on a card. The man who kept the gambling table drew several cards and, quite impassively raked in the pouch. My Mexican, just as stolidly, placed a second one on another card, and, in an instant, that too was lost. The third, which he drew from his back pocket under his poncho and which seemed heavier than the others, was removed in less than half a minute.

For an instant, my luckless gambler looked at his lost bags of gold, then he asked for a cigar and, calmly lighting it, said, "I'll see you tonight, Sir," went out, mounted his horse, and departed at a gallop. The whole affair hadn't lasted ten minutes.

Another day, I saw a crowd gathered in front of another gambling hall; I managed to get in with great difficulty. A young man, who had started to play the night before with only thirty piastres in his pocket, had before him a gambling table half-covered with piles of gold ounces which he had won. He had played the whole night, and it was then two in the afternoon. I shall never forget the drawn look on his face, or his eyes that he could scarcely keep open, but still he played on, winning always. The bankers vainly supplied the table with money; the lucky gambler won it all. It was easily seen that he wanted to retire and take his loot with him, but how? Where could he put it? His pockets weren't big enough, and he couldn't count on anyone helping him, knowing beforehand that he would be followed and robbed, maybe even killed, for the onlookers were not prepossessing. Moreover, the banker did not want to let him go, for he well knew that his luck must turn sooner or later, which is exactly what happened shortly after. Piles of gold ounces disappeared quickly, but couldn't be so easily recouped. As always happens, the infernal gambling fever seized upon the young man and he who had been so lucky, suddenly began to lose, and to lose constantly. He grew excited, played recklessly, doubled, tripled his stakes, but, O Fate! the more he played, the more he lost. By ten o'clock that night, he was completely stripped; his last gold ounce had disappeared, and he who, at one moment, had been the possessor of at least one hundred fifty thousand piastres won in a few hours, left the gambling hall without a single one.

Almost identical cases occurred rather frequently in 1850. Inasmuch as Society was nonexistent, gambling halls were the only source of

amusement; so, everyone went there and dense crowds gathered in those beautiful halls, resounding with delightful music, adorned with superb pictures, which, however, were not too modest. Then was to be found gambling in all its forms, the tables often upheld by fallen angels which served as a lure to attract customers. It was almost impossible always to resist temptation. Happy those who lost in the beginning, and woe betide those who won: the end was always the complete loss of everything. How many times have I not seen wretched miners who, having procured considerable gold in the mines, returned to San Francisco, risked what they had so arduously acquired, and often lost it all by the end of an hour. Disappointment, despair, and often suicide were the consequences for those unfortunates who tried to take a short cut that they might return home rolling in wealth.

Gambling was openly permitted in California for years, but finally, when the law was well established, it was suppressed, although it was impossible to abolish it completely. At this very moment, clandestine gambling still exists, especially among the Chinese population, for John Chinaman seems to be a born gambler, and to this end, he deceives, steals, kills.

The police are constantly on the watch; the fines are high; but these gentlemen are always inventing new ways to evade the vigilance of the authorities.

Since the growth of the California population, which came from the four quarters of the globe, had been so extraordinarily rapid, discipline, law, and the police left much to be desired. One was constantly hearing of thefts and murders.

One band, called "The Hounds," composed chiefly of Mexicans was formed. These malefactors, armed to the teeth, would break into houses even in broad daylight to steal, and, at the slightest resistance, would kill the wretched victims who fell into their hands.

Luckily, some brave men banded together to wipe out the "desperadoes" and, in a few days, not a single one remained. Some order was established so that one might dare to walk the streets at night in a city which, believe me, was lighted by neither gas nor electricity. One was very happy to get home without meeting some gambler who had lost, for, in that case, pistols were often brought into play.

Trade in San Francisco was heavy and colossal fortunes were made overnight; everything sold quickly and brought incredible profit. To give you an idea, let me quote some prices.

Wood, for construction, being an essential article, cost from four to five hundred piastres a thousand feet, everything pertaining to the construction of a house was in proportion. Soon, the merchants and speculators of every country, greedy to obtain enormous gains on their merchandise, shipped all kinds of articles in bulk and in great quantities, but not always of good quality. Unfortunately, this produced an overabundance and the result was that, when merchandise arrived, no one wanted it, and, since the consignees neither wished nor were able to pay the customs duty and the freight, it was publicly auctioned for a mere song, causing a total loss to those who had shipped, because it was essential to pay the customs and the freight first, and almost always the proceeds of the sale were insufficient.

As all commercial transactions were made in cash, specie was in great demand and the rates of exchange were exorbitant. Ten per cent a month was the lowest rate at which it could be procured. Many transactions took place at twelve and fifteen per cent, and, hard as it is to believe, some paid as high as thirty per cent a month.

A city like San Francisco, constructed entirely of wood, was naturally exposed to the danger of being wholly or partly destroyed by fire. This is exactly what repeatedly occurred, witness the fires of January, May and June 1850 and May 1851, as well as several others less disastrous.

Millions were devoured by the flames and several people, who had acquired colossal fortunes, were ruined in an instant.

The remarkable thing about all this was that, despite all these calamities, no one was discouraged. The American "go-ahead" spirit animated everyone. People helped each other tremendously. After a conflagration, even before the fire was completely extinguished, I have often seen carpenters measuring for the new building and even beginning to build on the ashes which were still warm.

Gambling halls in particular, despite tremendous losses, were the first to rise from the embers. So as not to lose any time, tents were raised a few hours after the fire, music played, and gambling was in full swing.

After each fire, San Francisco would spring up again like a phoenix, more beautiful than ever. Brick houses were built. Another fire occurring, they were destroyed, as well as the steel ones that had been imported, and, again they were rebuilt, stronger than ever and more protected from fire.

I must tell you a little about what happened during and after the

great fires. At the first cry of alarm, everyone hurried to save whatever he could, and so, everything that might serve as a means of transportation was requisitioned and placed at the disposal of the public, but heavens, at what a price! 100 to 200 piastres cash down were asked for a single load. The streets were in a very bad state, jammed with people and all kinds of vehicles. People jostled one another, collided, cried out, wept; some were knocked down, losing all or most of the things they were trying to save, and not daring to pick them up lest they themselves be crushed. In many streets, people ran through the flames, covered with a wet woolen blanket, a useless precaution for many who lost their lives trying to save themselves and their goods, or indeed to help and relieve others.

Unfortunately, each time there was a large conflagration, the wind was blowing strongly, and destruction was rapid. In spite of almost superhuman efforts on the part of the fire department, the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes. What desolation! What devastation! Having twice been the victim myself, I know whereof I am speaking. Thousands of people without shelter, without possessions, stood on the mountains, sadly contemplating the smoking remains of their homes and their belongings, often enough fearful about the fate of their families, many of whom frequently had perished in the flames.

But let us turn our backs on these scenes of desolation and admire the courage, the perseverance, and the dispatch of the San Franciscans. Naturally the first thing to do was to clear away the debris left by the fire. That was harvest time for the laborer. The number of hands was insufficient and labor was well recompensed. In no time at all, new houses and new streets appeared as if by magic. Inasmuch as ships laden with goods arrived each day, the stores were replenished anew; enormous profits were gained and lost fortunes quickly recouped. However, because of the frequent occurrence of the fires, all the ruins could not be rebuilt. The only alternative was to betake oneself to the mines, or frequently one might again acquire, though not without tremendous labor, enough gold to satisfy the most extravagant desires.

Yet, despite the loss of millions and the ruin of so many people, the fires that so often destroyed San Francisco had one salutary result. Since wooden buildings, and even steel, offered no resistance to the flames, people began to build with brick. Unfortunately, the masonry, not having all the qualities necessary to be fireproof, was again destroyed. Finally, they ended up where they should have begun: they

built in such a way as almost certainly to resist the devouring element.

Before I forget, allow me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to give you an example of the speed with which they built. The American Theater, at the corner of Samson and Halleck Streets, was constructed of brick in thirty days. It could hold over two thousand persons. With respect to its solidity, the sequel proved that it left much to be desired. At the end of four or five years, it had to be destroyed. It is true that earthquakes had cracked it. Join to that its light construction and you can see why the building became dangerous. In spite of all the repairs that were made, competent authorities decided that, to avoid disaster, the building had to be razed, and the American Theater became a thing of the past.

We have seen, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the city of San Francisco was inhabited by a population composed of many varied elements. Everything was in disorder and it was essential to plan for the establishment of a strong, protective government; besides, that was one of the first concerns of the Americans. They bent themselves courageously to the work and soon the law was in force, although it was quite difficult to subdue everyone. Consequently, thefts and murders were still very numerous. The culprits were caught sometimes, be it understood, but the police, who were very negligent, were often seduced by the lure of gain, and the culprits almost always escaped from the prisons, which moreover, were not very secure. Several judges even, were accused of having been seduced by the gold of the wrongdoers. Prison, to the guilty, was no more than a place from which to escape at will.

The public, weary at last of the bad administration of the law and having good reason to believe in the corruption of the judiciary and the police, decided to take the law into its own hands and established the Lynch Law. Mass meetings were called and soon a Vigilance Committee was established and strongly organized, having as adherents the great majority of the inhabitants who had decided to protect their lives and property themselves.

It would take too long, Ladies and Gentlemen, to enumerate all the achievements of the first Vigilance Committee. Suffice it to say that, when several of the culprits had been hung or expelled from California, order was reestablished, the Committee dissolved, and the regular authorities took over control. For several years, a better government was in force, but, little by little, corruption and disorder flourished more strongly than ever and a new Vigilance Committee was organized.

All those connected with the law saw their good luck vanish. No more criminal trials, no more big profits for the lawyers: the Vigilance Committee controlled everything. Trials were quickly heard and prompt justice rendered.

When this organization, so beneficial and so necessary to the people of San Francisco, had faithfully and honestly fulfilled its purpose, the regular authorities again were able to take over the reins of government. God grant that a third intervention of popular vengeance may never be necessary.

The reign of these two Vigilance Committees encountered strong opposition. The legal gentry saw its business greatly jeopardized, or I might better say, completely destroyed. Therefore, it is not surprising that the judges, the lawyers, the sheriffs, etc., formed an anti-Vigilance Committee party, called Law and Order Men, with the result that strife, quarrels and implacable hatred existed between the two opposing parties, and there were constant skirmishes, which frequently had a fatal ending. This difference of opinion lasted long after the dissolution of the Vigilance Committees and only now do they no longer mistrust each other for having belonged to the other party.

To give you an idea of the state of things in those early years, I must admit that the government of San Francisco was in very bad hands. All offices were held by those who obtained the most votes in the popular election. To vote, you have to be a native-born American citizen, 21 years of age, or naturalized as such after having lived five years in America. Suffrage is universal. Since all government positions were very lucrative, they were eagerly sought after, and every method of securing them, be it ever so criminal, was considered legitimate.

In America, there are a great number of politicians, men who earn their living exclusively by politics. They do no work, except to seek political positions which they distribute among themselves. It is not astonishing that they flocked to San Francisco where there was such a rich harvest to be gathered. In the beginning, their schemes met with easy success. The merchants, big and small, were occupied with their business. They had no time to waste on elections, so that the politicians, helped by friends of the vilest sort, divided the cake, not, however, without the most violent brawls before and during the elections. Whoever wished could vote, not once, but ten and more times in the various districts. Thence came the American saying, "Vote early and often."

An ingenious and infallible method, used by the aspirants for public office, was the "ballot boxes" containing a false bottom which they filled with votes for their friends, who were then certain of victory in the struggle.

It goes without saying that our authorities, elected in such a crooked way, governed badly, their one aim being to have us pay enormous taxes that they might share the spoils as much as possible among themselves.

It was only after several years that the people began to tire of this government, containing so many thieves and swindlers, and to take an interest in the elections and supervise the manner of holding them.

Shall we ever manage to secure perfectly honest results from a popular election? For my part, I fear that is an utopia which will never be realized in any country, in America no more than anywhere else.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in that I have no notes at hand to guide me and that everything that I have just told you is merely the product of my weak memory, I hope you will forgive me if, instead of giving you a complete and well-ordered story, I am jumping all around in a very disorderly fashion. I must insist, however, that my facts are accurate and I have no fear of contradiction. Therefore, if you will permit, I shall continue as I have begun.

The unevenness of the land upon which San Francisco was built later necessitated endless changes and extraordinary expenditures by the government as well as by the landholders. Some houses were in a sort of hollow, while others were erected upon hillocks. To obtain an even level, it was necessary to raise some houses and to lower others. You may well imagine, Ladies and Gentlemen, the amount of money required to achieve this end. To give you an example of the inventiveness of Americans, I shall choose from a wealth of similar incidents, the case of the American Hotel, situated on Samson Street. Part of this street having required fifteen feet of filling in, it was necessary to raise equally the buildings constructed in that section of the street.

The American Hotel was a three-story brick building with a frontage of 50 feet and an equal depth. It was built when the cost of labor and material was extremely high. What should they do? To demolish it and rebuild would be the logical answer to this question. But this method was costly and would be ruinous to the proprietor. So, contrary to what would have been done in any other part of the world, after having listened to the advice of some "Smart Yankee," he decided that

the American Hotel, unbelievable as it may seem, instead of being razed and constructed anew, would remain in its place and would be majestically and almost magically raised to the required height. This sort of modern miracle, this conquest of science was accomplished: house, furnishings, and personnel slowly but surely rose together by means of hydraulic power. I believe that about three weeks were needed to accomplish this marvel of labor and to place the American Hotel at the desired level. In the same way, many other buildings were raised from 20 to 30 feet. I saw all this with my own eyes.

I told the preceding story to some friends who seemed, if I may use the expression, to swallow it whole. But, I soon heard other friends say that, although a traveler was allowed to exaggerate a little, it wasn't fair so to abuse the credulity of those who were willing to listen to me. How true it is that truth often appears improbable.

In San Francisco, it is not unusual to see wooden houses, two, three and four stories high, walking along the streets, so to speak, to take up new positions, often at great distance. There would be nothing out of the ordinary if this removal was made only on the level, but they were often seen climbing and descending mountainous streets, which were common in the higher part of the city. The reason for this displacement of the houses is that, in the lower part of the city, which is the business center, magnificent brick buildings were being constructed, and the wooden ones had to be moved elsewhere. I have actually seen a wooden building, which had to give way to a new occupant but which was much too wide to pass through some of the streets, sawed in two, only to be put together again in its new site, at least a mile away.

The word "impossible," according to Napoleon I, should not be in the dictionary. The Yankee carries this saying to its extreme. Give him enough gold and the impossible no longer exists: "Go ahead" is his rallying cry.

In order to move the houses through the streets, of course, they had to be in good condition. In the beginning, the streets had been laid with planks and one could walk along them as easily as across a drawing room. However, the planks did not last long and, moreover, offered other serious drawbacks, especially in climbing or descending the steep slopes. Little by little, the planking in the streets was replaced by all kinds of pavements and, finally, after the expenditure of millions, they ended by finding that only one was any good—Belgian pavement, which is now to be found throughout the city.

I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, that we can be proud that, in foreign countries, our Belgian method of paving is esteemed to be the best in existence.

Manual labor, in the early days of the discovery of gold, was very dear—it was a period of prosperity, a golden age for the working man. I think I have already told you that one day's work received one gold ounce at the very least. Thus, by a little economy and planning, the worker rapidly accumulated a small fortune, and several who worked hard at that time, now find themselves in possession of large fortunes.

In the beginning, when the family did not exist, so to speak, meals were generally eaten in a restaurant, which consequently found it necessary to employ many assistants, who would work only at the current labor rates. A head cook was paid from three to five hundred piastres a month. Waiters' salaries varied from 180 to 200 piastres a month. Dishwashers received 100 piastres. It was not rare to find oneself served by noblemen, lawyers, judges, etc., who, for want of money, were forced to work in order to raise the wherewithal to get to the mines, there to seek that fortune for which they had become expatriates, leaving behind everything—family, friends, relatives. Alas, how many deceptions, how many miseries, how much loss of life have often been the result of the most courageous efforts to secure the favors of Dame Fortune.

Laundering, which no one can do without no matter in what part of the world he finds himself, was truly a luxurious necessity, for it cost eighteen piastres (later, twelve piastres) to have a dozen shirts laundered. So, one generally wore them a little longer than is usual, or, fairly often, even preferred to buy new shirts, throwing the old ones out in the streets.

In the measure that John Chinaman increased the population, the price of manual labor greatly diminished until it reached a reasonable level, too reasonable possibly, which accounts for the indignation of the white race against the formidable invasion of the Chinese, whose standard of living was much lower than that of any other nation. This enabled them to sustain competition and to work for very little money. For this reason the rates for domestic service, which had been 50 piastres and up a month, dropped to 15, or 20 to 30 piastres a month, and at that rate, what kind of service can you get?

It would require almost a volume to describe the pretensions, the peculiarities, the oddities of the servants. To cite only one example:

if your servant belonged to the female sex, it was important to know that the lowest of them would consider herself humiliated and degraded should she consent to shine your shoes; so, she would contemptuously refuse such an absurd request and disdainfully take her departure.

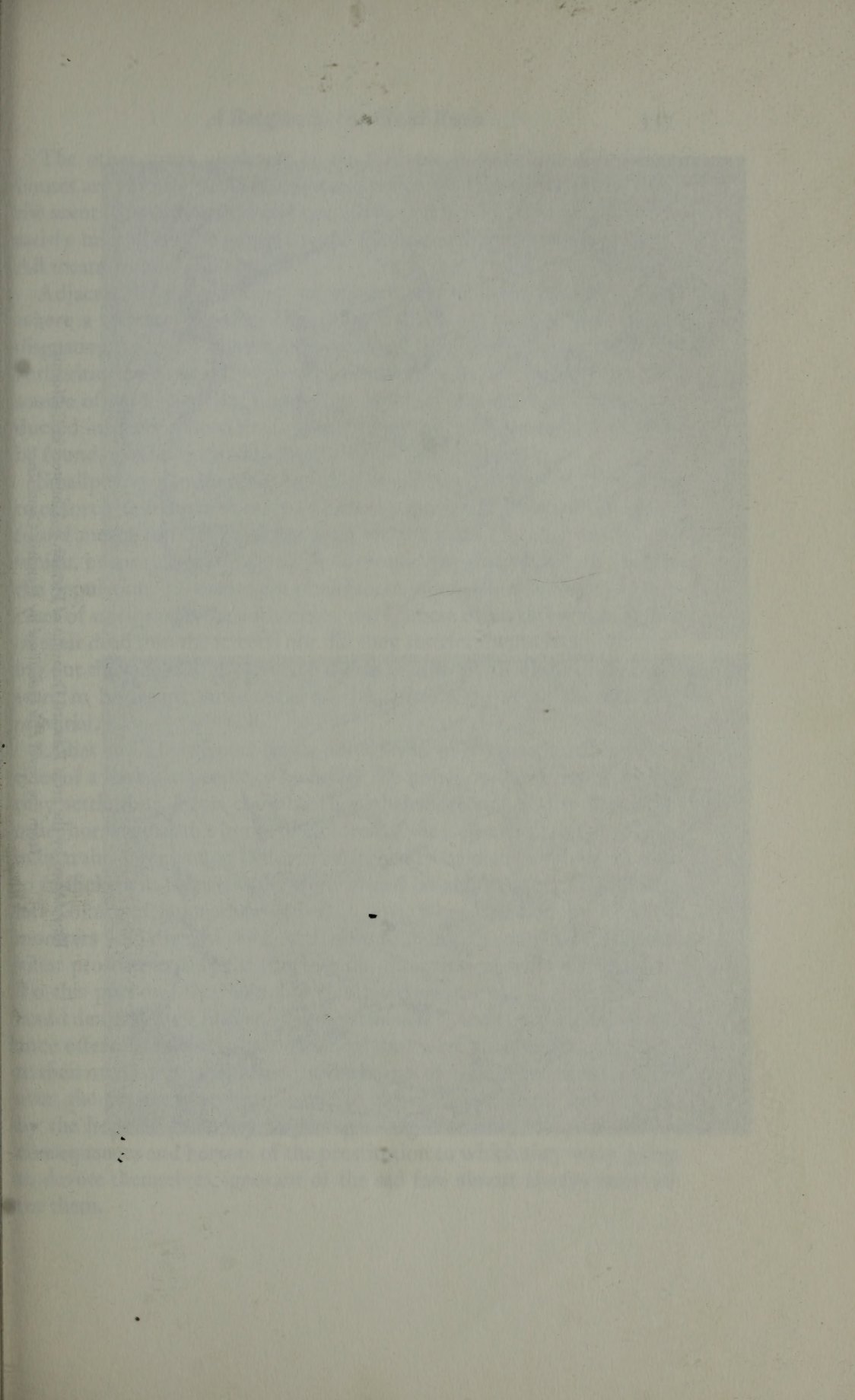
As for John Chinaman, although he left much to be desired, at least he would shine your shoes. Besides a few natural instincts toward evil, proper also to the rest of mankind, John Chinaman had an innate propensity to appropriate that which did not belong to him. So, you had to keep your eye on him constantly and, in spite of the greatest vigilance, he would still manage to rob you. One of his first endeavors was to examine all the keyholes and to find a key to open any piece of furniture which he thought, or knew, contained money or jewels. In the beginning, he stole a little; if it went unnoticed, he purloined more and more. If one had the misfortune to leave large sums of money or jewelry in the furniture, my friend John disappeared, taking the whole hoard with him. In a word, theft in all its forms was practiced by the Chinese, who often committed murder to achieve their end. Gambling, which consumes everything, was almost always the motive power behind their natural penchant.

Among the Chinese was to be found a body of assassins, called High-binders or Bravoës, which was always ready, for the sum of a few hundred piastres according to the situation, to exterminate the poor wretches who were pointed out to them. These murders often took place in broad daylight, yet it was very difficult to apprehend the culprits. The reason is that, in San Francisco, there are whole sections inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese, who are always found in great numbers in the streets, all dressed almost alike. It was easy for the assassin to slip into the crowd and elude the pursuit of Justice. Moreover, those who were witnesses of the crime did not dare, or more often did not wish to testify on the side of Justice for fear of being themselves killed either by the culprit or by his friends. It is impossible, furthermore, to believe the testimony of a Chinaman, for he lies with an incredible aplomb. On special occasions, when John has to take an oath in court, he has a live cock brought in and cuts off its head. That is a solemn oath, according to him, but in spite of this formality, he frequently enough perjures himself.

The number of Chinese living in San Francisco is at least 40,000. The great majority dwell in what is called Chinatown. There, they are always to be found in crowds, obstructing the streets in such a way as

to make traffic difficult. This district has taken on a completely Chinese atmosphere, and one might even believe himself in China. On all sides are Chinese restaurants, shops, hotels—everything absolutely Chinese. Commercial houses had their center in some streets, such as Sacramento and Dupont Streets. Among these important merchants were several millionaires. They are those who import all that China can produce for the maintenance of her celestial subjects, who are usually patriotic enough to prefer the products of their own country to those of all others. Also, in the Chinese quarter, are displayed their vegetables, their thousand and one kinds of dried fish which emit a very disagreeable odor. Farther on are seen the shops containing Chinese knick-knacks, impossible to describe. Chinese drug stores are numerous, as well as those small shops where a simple person sits apathetically, smoking his pipe and ceaselessly selling his opium preparation.

This article is of great importance to the Chinese, and as the tariff is very high, thousands and thousands of ruses are invented to smuggle in the opium and to elude the most meticulous investigations of the customs officials. One can hardly keep from laughing at the miserable faces of those who are caught, when their loot is taken away and they are marched off to prison, later to go and make their peace with Justice. The inclination to smoke opium is practically universal with the Chinese. Its effect on economy is always pernicious, and the unfortunate beings who have contracted the habit are seen going about the streets with hideous pale faces, their eyes haggard and lusterless. The habit, once contracted, is impossible to break and to satisfy his fatal passion (craving), the Chinese will resort to all possible means to procure opium—theft and murder not excepted. Unfortunately, the craving for opium has seduced all nationalities, without regard to age nor sex. For this reason, wretched hovels are found in the Chinese quarter where, in very dark and very dirty cellars, one can, for a certain sum, throw oneself upon a noisome pallet, smoke opium and become dazed like a Chinaman. It is not rare to find very young boys and girls there. In vain have the police done their utmost to discover these pernicious establishments and punish their proprietors according to the law: new ways are always found to continue the terrible trade. Would you believe it? The opium habit laid such a hold on certain individuals, both male and female, that they indulged it in their homes, which were outside the province of the police. It is truly an epidemic which must necessarily have serious consequences if not soon wiped out.





Illustrations by the artist Edward Dujardin of Flenish goldhunters in California
from the novel *Het Goudland* by Hendrik Conscience

The other great weakness of the Chinese is gambling. Gambling houses are strictly forbidden, but the police are constantly thrown off the scent by the thousand and one tricks practiced by the Chinese. To satisfy his passion for gambling, the Chinese will sacrifice everything. All means to him are good.

Adjacent to the principal streets, are found dark, narrow alleys, where a teeming population multiplies like ants, swarming in dirty, disgusting tenements where one would say existence is impossible. The authorities are constantly trying to clean up these foul places, often the source of epidemics. But impossible! Scarcely has a general well-conducted inspection been made than a few days later the same filth is to be found, and it is indeed lucky if this isn't even worse.

Smallpox epidemics often raged in San Francisco. It was impossible to enforce sanitary laws with a Chinese population. They all too often found means to hide from the authorities serious cases of the disease which, in spreading among them, increased the danger for the rest of the population. To escape the punishment imposed for failing to report cases of smallpox to the authorities, the Chinese often threw the bodies of their dead into the streets; nor did they restrict themselves to throwing out their dead, but often the dying victims of all kinds of illnesses were to be found there. And all this, in fine, to avoid the expense of burial.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let us draw a veil over these horrible practices of a barbaric people, who infect the unhappy countries in which they settle; but, let us continue, nonetheless, to tell you some of the other horrors that this horde of children of the Celestial Empire brought in its train. Very young children, snatched from their families and sold to traffickers in human flesh, were loaded on almost every ship which left China and, upon their arrival in port, were taken off by horrible monsters who divided the booty, only to deliver it immediately to the vilest prostitution. The authorities did their best to wipe out the evil. To this purpose, they arrested the newcomers who, if they wished, could demand their liberty on American soil. Some accepted the assistance offered in their sad predicament and were then either sent back to their own country or placed in the homes of Good Samaritans. However, the greater number, initiated in vice during the trip and dazzled by the hope of promptly acquiring a large fortune, accepted all the consequences and horrors of the prostitution to which they were going to devote themselves, ignorant of the sad fate almost always reserved for them.

The dens in which these wretched beings vegetated were disgustingly dirty. There, thefts and murders were of frequent occurrence. Should they become infected with the consequences of prostitution, which is nearly always the case, the scoundrels who have them in their power cast them out. Happy are they if they can find their way to a hospital, there to end their sad career.

One of the special characteristics of the Chinese is that he is essentially an imitator, rarely an inventor. As he is quick to learn, he is soon seen using the sewing machine and working, at a very low salary, at all kinds of manufactures that use these machines. Laundering, which was a great source of income for several white families, is now almost exclusively done by the Chinese, who have stores throughout the city.

They were taught how to manufacture cigars and, in a short time, they were seen by thousands in business for themselves, selling their merchandise in little shops located in all parts of the city. By means of all sorts of schemes, they avoided the duties on the manufacture of cigars, so that by selling cheaply, they could easily compete with the other merchants.

The manufacture of phosphorous matches was affected by a heavy tax. John succeeded perfectly in manufacturing them; and, by selling them secretly, made an enormous profit. From time to time, he was caught in the act and a fine of five hundred piastres or six months imprisonment was imposed on him. He usually preferred the latter punishment and then recommenced the manufacture of matches but with more caution.

There is no trade that the Chinese thinks himself above learning, and learning quickly. He is everywhere sought after in that he works cheaply and almost as well as any member of any other nation. The result of all this was the depreciation of the value of manual labor and the practical impossibility of entering into competition with the Chinese. They were content with little food, which consisted mainly of rice imported from their own country. Their principal meat was pork. As for fish, they are good fishermen and the bay is there in which to catch them. They grew their own Chinese vegetables, of which some are delicious, but with which the white population wishes to have nothing to do. In the Chinese section, one sees only shops where all the products of China are sold and, as there are a good 40,000 Chinese in San Francisco, you can hardly walk about the streets of their section without thinking yourself actually in China. Too, not a single stranger

arrives in San Francisco who doesn't wish to visit Chinatown and to attend, at least once, their theatrical performances, which are truly remarkable, were it only for the contrast with what you expect to see in a theater. It would require a volume to describe adequately what goes on there. One peculiarity of the Chinese theater is that it sometimes lasts three and four weeks before reaching the end.

The Chinese element which, at first, was looked upon as a blessing for California, soon became a veritable curse. Their numbers increased so rapidly, so great was the over population of China, that, as soon as there was the slightest chance of success, they poured into the hapless country they coveted.

It is quite impossible for anyone who has not lived in a country in which the Chinese are numerous, to have the faintest conception of the baneful influence exerted by this people on a country. Putting aside the introduction of prostitution, of gambling, and of the habit of smoking opium which has spread among all classes, etc., the depreciation of the value of manual labor in all trades is a terrible evil for all the rest of the population which vainly struggles against its Chinese invaders. So, it is not surprising that we had some anguished moments because of the uprising of the greater part of the workingmen, who threatened nothing less than to cause blood to flow in torrents until the last Chinese had disappeared.

It was necessary for the big merchants, the capitalists, and the land-owners to unite, under governmental protection, to stop the mob of people armed in broad daylight, under the leadership of a traitor, Irish by birth, named Kearny, making their way in thousands to the factories and ordering the managers to dismiss the Chinese in their employ, threatening, should they fail to obey, to burn their factories and to hang the owners from the lamp posts. A few of these lawless bands carried gallows. They marked the houses where they knew there were Chinese servants and threatened to burn the entire city were the occupants unwilling to obey their orders. The beginnings of a revolt broke out, a few houses were burned, bloody and even fatal clashes occurred, but fortunately the counter-movement had the advantage and, little by little, peace was restored, but the fire still smouldered under the embers.

I do not wish to discuss the rationality of the revocation of the treaty with China—that is a very thorny question. Happily, a seemingly satisfactory solution put an end to the agitation against the Chinese which existed in California.

For at least two years, the people of San Francisco had lived in an atmosphere of terrorism. Daily, the laborers threatened to burn the city, to pillage the big houses, to kill the businessmen and the capitalists and to make blood flow knee-high in the streets.

Naturally, the effects of this state of things on San Francisco was disastrous. The general suspension of all construction work was the first result—then came the falling off of property values. A large number of people, overcome by fear and no longer wishing to remain in California, offered their property for sale at any price, with the result that real estate declined considerably and has never since picked up.

During my 32 years in San Francisco, I have inevitably been able to observe inflationary and deflationary movements in everything (and for everything). The San Franciscan, once having lived there for any time, seemed to change his character completely. He became very impressionable, very venturesome, very enterprising at first; then, he plunged recklessly into all kinds of speculation; thence, great success for some but tremendous setbacks for most. Having acquired this disposition once upon the soil of California, it was not surprising to see rapid changes, often enough irrational and almost always disastrous for the masses.

This infallibly leads us to mining speculation. It is an incontrovertible fact that California is a marvelous country, having no equal in the world in the production of precious metals, mainly gold and silver. I propose to give you an abridged and very incomplete outline of the working of the mines and the extraction of these precious metals.

The first discovery of gold dates from January 1848, but it is claimed that the Jesuit missionaries had known for a long time of the existence of gold in California and that they had made quite a harvest of it.

We have seen that, as soon as the discovery of gold was noised abroad, the news spread over the whole surface of the globe, which, from all quarters, sent hardy, enterprising individuals, whose animating purpose was the exploitation of the auriferous earth. Once there, all that had to be done was to proceed to the site of the first discovery, to choose the one that seemed best, generally near a river, and to stake out a claim and have the chosen spot recorded. Each person had exclusive rights to an area of about 100 square feet, more or less, according to the locality and the rules that the miners themselves outlined. The first thing was to secure some utensil, generally a tin pan, capable of holding about ten kilos (22 pounds) of gravel which was collected on the claim and brought to the river to wash.

This washing consisted of immersing the pan in the river and shaking it continually, first removing the bulky substances, next the sand, then a blackish powder, and finally one saw a few yellow grains which were gold. Sometimes the take was good, varying from a few cents to one, two or three piastres; at other times, one hardly even saw the color of gold. This primitive method of collecting the precious metal was slow and entailed great loss. It was soon replaced by "rockers," a sort of cradle which held about a hundred pounds of gravel on which one man constantly poured water while another rocked the "rocker." This cradle was divided by three or four sheet metal plates pierced with holes, the last plate having smaller holes than the others, allowing the gold to drop to the bottom, whence it was taken at the end of the day.

This second process, which was still very imperfect and allowed considerable loss, was replaced by Long Tom, which was a sort of cradle seven to eight feet long and able to hold a much greater quantity of gravel. This instrument required several men to work it. One was constantly pumping water, another stirred the gravel, while still another kept Long Tom supplied with gravel. Since, even by this method, a great deal of gold was lost, they began to use mercury which, by combining with the gold, gave better results. All the gravel worked by the aforementioned methods was later washed and rewashed by the Chinese, who, with their usual patience, found there quite a quantity of gold. Later the rivers themselves were worked and, in several places, immense fortunes were found in the clay called "bedrock" or the bed of the river. All these ways of extracting gold generally produced grains of this metal, and sometimes nuggets of varying weights, either pure gold or mixed with other metals.

As long as the miner was satisfied with his labor, he remained on his claim, but at the least rumor that richer strikes had been discovered, he abandoned everything and followed the prospectors, lucky if he had not been deceived in this new hope of doing better. Very often men, climbing rocks on their way to seek for gold, found what are called "pockets," whence they removed a quantity of nuggets, more or less heavy, their value often reaching several thousand piastres.

The description of the primitive methods of extracting gold used in the beginning, although very incomplete, is perhaps sufficient to give you an idea of the means that practically everyone possessed to obtain gold in larger or smaller amounts, often amounting to 50 or 100 piastres a day. I should have to write volumes in order to communicate to you all the different processes used to work the mines.

Many people believe that the mines no longer produce gold. That is a great error. New ones are discovered every day.

Unhappily, even the richest mines are not inexhaustible. Experience has proved the contrary, and mines which for years produced monthly dividends of two million dollars and whose shares sold at eight hundred piastres, at present produce nothing and the shares sell for about a half piastre each. But, some of the miners still work there, maintaining that a few hundred feet deeper, or a little more to the right, or to the left, or in front, or behind, they will again find the lode—maybe richer than ever. In the meantime, they have to pay, ever to pay, the assessments over the years—to find what? The future will show.

Auriferous quartz is found in veins and in lodes which are very numerous. Their general directions are north-north-west and south-south-east, parallel to the central axis of the Sierra Nevadas.

Gold-bearing quartz is crushed by powerful mills and the gold extracted by amalgamation with mercury. One might say that it is all very simple: just crush the gold-bearing quartz and extract the gold by amalgamation with mercury. True, but before that, how much work, how much trouble, what expense, what speculations, how many hopes deceived, what horrifying traffic, what shameful and deceptive manipulations, to lure the hapless victims to their downfall!

If you will permit me, Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall give you a brief outline of the tricks used to entice credulous victims, who came to put a portion or all their riches into an abyss whence, instead of a more or less huge fortune, there came forth only ruin and its consequences. Too late, they discovered they had to deal with veritable vampires who mercilessly sucked the blood from their victims.

Here is the *modus operandi* which was generally used to sell an auriferous quartz mine to the public.

Mr. A, B, or C—singly or jointly—surveyed the gold regions. One or the other, or all together, would find a deposit of quartz giving every evidence and indication of containing a more or less large quantity of the precious metals, gold and silver.

The find once made, they marked the spot by driving stakes at the four cardinal points of the plot they had chosen and which had an area of several square feet, depending on the locality and the agreements made among the miners of the place. All that then remained to be done was to have the chosen site registered with the recorder and within a

few days to set to work to develop the mine. These formalities completed, they were the lawful owners of the chosen plot.

There were then two possibilities, either the owner sold as much of his land as he could, or, with the help of his companions, he began the development of the supposed mine.

After several days' work, it sometimes happened that fragments of gold-bearing quartz were found which gave hope of locating a vein fairly deep, of some richness and quite wide, running in a good direction. Once at this point, they formed a company and gave a name to the mine—alleged—be it understood, for as yet they had only indications which often proved deceptive. The land was divided into so many feet or into parts of feet: each of the members took his share and received certificates.

The incorporation of the mine was the second step. The formalities of the law accomplished, everything was again registered and the mine incorporated with a capital of one, two, ten million, divided into as many shares as the company wished. A president, a treasurer, a secretary and several shareholders were elected and the business was ended.

Now, money was needed to develop the mine. It was obtained in the following manner: generally some newspaper was paid to write a high-sounding article about the extraordinary discovery of a mine, which gave every indication of being the richest in California. Specimens, which had been obtained or bought God knows where, were presented for public examination and shares were put on sale. The price of these shares depended more or less on the *éclat* of the advertising. As soon as a sufficient amount of the shares had been sold, the mine's board of directors met and declared an assessment, to be paid on each share, generally within the month. In default of payment within the specified time, the shares were published in a newspaper as delinquent and to be sold on such a day, at such a time, at public auction.

If the first purchasers succeeded in magnifying the vein, they sold at a profit. But, soon, the assessment had to be paid because of the need for money, ever more money, to work the mine. Usually, at this point, some unfortunates found themselves unable to pay the assessment and their shares were sold and redeemed by others, who profited by the falling off of these shares.

There were two possibilities: either the mine in which they still worked offered from time to time some hope of finding gold or silver, or they found nothing, but still kept on working in the hope of finding gold farther down.

In both cases, it was still necessary to procure money by regular assessments every 2 or 3 months. Soon very expensive machines were required and the assessments became larger and more frequently repeated. Meanwhile, the shares were on the market and sold at fluctuating prices, according to the real or false reports that came from the mine, promising success or failure. To tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, of the swindles and thefts that occurred is impossible. Usually, only the large stockholders and the members of the board of directors were in on the secret of the true condition of the mine. If the reports these gentlemen sent by wire or otherwise had always been true, mining speculation would not have caused the ruin of so many people, and this trade could have been carried on just as honestly as any other, but, quite often, indeed one might say always, these reports were false and served to make millionaires of a few dishonest men, not to call them worse, who were in on the secret.

This was the ruse employed: a mine appeared promising or had already yielded rather rich quartz in sufficient abundance to have been able, in a short time, to pay dividends. Those in the know raised the veil a little. Immediately the shares rose in value, doubled, tripled, even increased a hundredfold in a very short time. The insiders, still possessors of any number of shares, sold them at the highest price. The luckless public, lured by the daily rise in value of the shares, began to buy, timidly at first, but more and more boldly. It saw its capital increase every day, considerably at first, later beyond all expectation. Then it happened that a few of the elect, satisfied with a more than adequate profit, sold, thus realizing a fairly large fortune, while the great majority of the speculators, dazzled by their enormous profit and the hope of seeing it increase constantly, stood fast and held on to their shares. But alas! a small rumor began secretly to spread, as in "The Barber of Seville": "At first, it is a light breeze, skimming the earth, then, etc., etc." One or another received a telegram. The mine didn't look too good; it no longer yielded so much gold. The mine was not so wide as supposed, or didn't extend so far as was believed, and a thousand other reports, all more or less false. The result was easily foreseen. The shareholder, sooner or later, heard the bad news. Fear naturally took hold of him and he sold all or part [of his shares], almost always at a great loss, happy if this first reverse had not ruined him.

But what about the insiders? They laughed up their sleeves and jeered at the misery of the public. The rumor, as they well knew was false, but

the stratagem had succeeded; panic had seized upon the speculators. They sold everything, the wretches, and what were the insiders doing? They were buying up everything that was for sale.

Hardly had they in their possession all that was, so to speak, cast cheaply on change, than the shares which had done nothing but fall, suddenly became steady and soon after, another slight rumor cropped up, communicated at first to the friends of the insiders, then spreading to the public. The mine was good; it was rich; soon it would pay dividends, or, if it was already paying them, the dividends would be doubled.

The hapless speculator bucked up, timidly at first like the first time, but then, bolder than ever, he bought anew. The shares rose quickly; he bought more and more. He pledged everything he owned, he mortgaged his property: he was sure now that he would be as rich as Croesus.

Again what did the insiders do? The shares that they had bought back at a low price through their fraudulent manipulations, they sold at a high price, they sold to the very last one, and rubbed their hands. Poor public! It has let itself be caught a second time, and it will not be the last. It is inflated with hope, builds castles in Spain, often is guilty of mad extravagances.

But again, what did the insiders do? They had amassed several millions, they had no more or very few shares; they needed some again—but above all at a low price. How could they get them? Like the first two times. Nothing easier. A little bad news and fear will do the rest. The public became poorer and poorer, complete ruin was imminent, but the insiders have again made several millions more at the expense of the speculators.

You may well believe, Ladies and Gentlemen, that these fraudulent manoeuvres constantly repeated ended in the ruin of the general public and the accumulation of hundreds of millions by the few who mocked at the credulity of their fellow-citizens.

It is impossible to describe the position of the wretches who had speculated on the mines, and their number was great. One might say that the fever for speculating was general, despite the reverses of the majority of those who associated with the tiger. Indeed, men, women, even children, servants, people from every profession and merchants bought stock. It was irresistible. Some few made colossal fortunes in a very short time and quit the game in time. Unfortunately, the majority, wishing to gain a little more, or desiring to recoup the losses of previous

speculations, held on a little longer, then pop! a sudden drop occurred, a general panic followed and one saw thousands of unfortunates, who scarcely a few days before had been dreaming of fortune, reduced to misery, to shame, and at each catâstrophe, generally brought about by the insiders who amassed millions, one read in the papers mention of several suicides occasioned by unlucky speculations in the mines.

The Bank of Italy and the 1926 Campaign in California

By RUSSELL M. POSNER

(Concluded)

When Giannini returned to the United States in early August, he found a number of letters awaiting him from Bacigalupi. Bacigalupi believed that Richardson had no intention of granting any last-minute concessions and urged his chief to enter the political fray.

In a long eight-page letter, dated July 26, Bacigalupi described the efforts of various Richardson agents to keep the Bank neutral. The State Treasurer, Gus Johnson, had visited the Bank and advised Bacigalupi to keep out of the "political mess." Johnson promised on July 12 to see the Governor and to attempt to get the desired mergers granted. On July 14, the Treasurer returned, quite discouraged. He reported that the Governor would not yield and was obligated to the League of Independent Bankers "which had rallied to his support." The Governor was quoted as saying that he had the united support of California's independent bankers. "They have more drag than the Bank of Italy." Another Richardson agent tried to get a list of requested permits from Bacigalupi, promising that they would be granted. Bacigalupi refused, saying he was not willing to do anything unless "assured that the stage is set and the puppets ready to perform."²⁰

The Young forces, according to Bacigalupi, were willing to promise a "square deal." Bacigalupi said that, without committing the Bank directly, he would ask leading stockholders to give money to Young with the understanding that there would be a "reiteration of the previous promise of a square deal if elected."²¹

Under date of July 27, Bacigalupi wrote to Giannini that the famous San Francisco attorney, Garret McEnerney, had come to the Bank of Italy on behalf of Richardson. McEnerney wanted to know how far the Bank of Italy was willing to go in supporting Richardson, in return

for concessions. Bacigalupi would only promise an attitude of political neutrality. McEnerney agreed to go and see the Governor. Bacigalupi felt that this attempt at agreement would fail and that the Bank of Italy would continue to be the "recipients of a raw deal" if Richardson won. Giannini's lieutenant urged a personal declaration for Young when Giannini returned to San Francisco. "Our competitors have no compunction in the matter, so why should we?"²²

On July 28, Kent Parrott wrote a letter to the Bank of Italy which was forwarded to Giannini. The Los Angeles political leader urged Bank support for Young. He said, "I realize that the Bank of Italy is not in politics, but the fact remains that all the opposition banks in southern California are in politics and are directing their activities against the Bank of Italy."²³

Bacigalupi sent still another letter to Giannini on August 2. He told Giannini that he had heard nothing from the McEnerney mission to the Governor. Advising political action, Bacigalupi said that "If we don't get something from the administration this week, we have no other course."²⁴

Giannini remained calm under the barrage of correspondence from his lieutenant. He was determined in any case not to act until his return to the Bay Area. He arrived in San Francisco about the middle of August after stopping off for business reasons in New York and Washington. A few days after coming home, Giannini plunged the Bank of Italy actively into the campaign.

More than 20 years later, Giannini recalled that three events had influenced his decision to participate in the contest.²⁵ First, Giannini had met his banking rival, Joseph Sartori, in Europe. Giannini claimed that Sartori, tiring of the branch banking struggle, was willing to let the Bank of Italy have its desired southern California branches. Sartori, however, told Giannini that Henry Robinson of the Pacific Southwest Bank refused to go along with any such arrangement. This continued enmity by Robinson indicated to Giannini that there was little chance of concessions on the part of Superintendent Johnson. Johnson was believed by Giannini to be strongly subject to the influence of the southern California bankers, and particularly Robinson. Second, on his return Giannini was "tipped off" that the impending Supreme Court decision in the case involving the Los Angeles branches would go against the Bank of Italy. This would end the legal efforts to overthrow the *de novo* rule. Third, in August, Frank F. Merriam, acting as an

agent for Richardson, proposed the granting of branch requests in exchange for Giannini's pledged support to the Governor. Again, Giannini was informed confidentially that he would not receive "any favors" from Merriam. He was advised that Merriam was trying to spin out the negotiations until after the primary.

These factors led Giannini to the decision to make a deal with the Young forces. About ten days before the primary, Giannini had two meetings with the prominent attorney, John Francis Neylan. Neylan was a supporter of Hiram Johnson and a friend of C. C. Young. At the second of these meetings, Young was present. Young promised the other men that if elected he would give fair treatment to the Bank of Italy. Nothing apparently was said about the choice of a Bank Commissioner. Giannini agreed in turn to support Young.²⁶

The Young supporters were doubly pleased. They had the backing of a powerful financial institution and Giannini's endorsement was expected to help win "wet" votes for Young. The Lieutenant Governor had the reputation of being an ardent "dry," and on occasion had been supported by the Prohibition Party as well as the G.O.P. The endorsement of the Bank of Italy was expected to aid Young's cause among the "wet" voters, because the Bank did a great deal of business with the California vineyard owners.²⁷

On Monday, August 23, 1926, Young, in a public speech, promised fair and impartial treatment to all banks. The next day, Tuesday, August 24, the Bank of Italy entered the campaign. It was just seven days before the election. Strangely enough, Giannini did not actually endorse Young in a public statement, as Bacigalupi desired. Instead, the leader of the Bank of Italy passed the word down to his 4,000 employees, and through them to his 15,000 stockholders, to work for Young's election. It was pointed out to employees and stockholders that "the existence or further growth of our institution was practically one of the issues of the campaign."²⁸ What followed was without precedent in the history of California finance.

From one end of the state to the other, the employees of the four Giannini banking systems leaped into action. In banks from El Centro to Crescent City, directors, officers, advisory board members, and employees joined the campaign. Bank executives for a week put everything but the most essential work aside to engage in the contest. Branch managers scanned lists of stockholders and contacted them by telephone and personal interview. Employees talked to friends and acquaintances to

urge them to vote for Young. Many stockholders also participated in the campaign.

Much of the effort was concentrated in the conservative southern counties, where Richardson was strong. A. P. Giannini and his son Mario were in Los Angeles on August 24. Before leaving for San Francisco, Mario Giannini placed Leo V. Belden, Vice President of the Bank of Italy, in charge of the southern campaign. He told Belden:

We have left instructions with the boys in charge of the work down here to look to you for direction. Please see to it that they are all kept on their toes and make as many contacts as possible.²⁹

The vigor with which the campaign was conducted is revealed in a letter from Orra Monnette to Giannini:

Every branch manager of the Bank of America [of Los Angeles] was telephoned yesterday to press the matter urgently, and to make daily reports in writing of men interviewed to the head office.

Monnette, in the same letter, admitted there had been occasional criticism:

In my telephoning to various stockholders and seeing them personally, a very few have been inclined to object to the Bank advising them what to do. However, practically everyone who is giving it any thought with whom I have talked is for Young or easily converted.³⁰

The correspondence in the Bank of America files contains a fair sampling of the type of work undertaken by bank employees throughout the state. For example. V. Dardi, a branch manager in Santa Barbara, sent in a list of 77 names of "stockholders and non-stockholders" whom he had asked to vote for Young.³¹ R. P. Lathrop of the San Jose branch wrote:

When Mr. Bacigalupi called for workers, I volunteered. I went to Hollister, worked Gilroy, Morgan Hill, Campbell, Los Gatos, Saratoga, Santa Clara, Mountain View, and San Jose, and turned in 141 votes for Young. I also got R. F. Benson to work and he changed 40 Richardson voters to Young.³²

In Orange County, in southern California, Belden claimed by August 30 that his workers had switched a solid block of 1,500 votes to Young.³³ In both rural and metropolitan areas, Italian votes were solicited. One magazine said later, "It is well known in Italian circles, practically every Italian voted for Young."³⁴

Giannini received daily reports from his lieutenants on the progress of the campaign. The day before the election, a pleased Giannini telegraphed to Belden, "It certainly does my heart good to see how splen-

didly our boys and girls have joined this fight of ours. There is not a better or more loyal bunch in the world."³⁵

While Giannini's men were stumping the state, the Richardson forces attempted to strike back at the Bank of Italy. On August 25, Henry M. Robinson, Giannini's banking rival in southern California, came out openly for Richardson. The *Los Angeles Times*, the leading Richardson newspaper in the south, repeatedly blasted the Bank of Italy for going into politics. On August 25, the *Times* accused the Bank of Italy of making available to Young a campaign fund of \$150,000 and said that the Bank had undertaken a "revolutionary departure from the customary principles of modern banks and financial institutions."³⁶

Two days later, a *Times* editorial entitled "Banks and Politics" charged that Giannini's action was a violation of the "unwritten law" requiring banks to be neutral in politics. Giannini was compared to Nicholas Biddle in the Andrew Jackson-Biddle controversy of the 1830's. The implication was that Giannini would suffer defeat for his rashness as had Biddle, the President of the second Bank of the United States.³⁷

On August 29, the *Times* and many other newspapers throughout the state carried a full-page Richardson advertisement entitled "California Does Not Need a Mussolini." The language was blistering:

The contest for the Republican nomination for Governor has been invaded by a powerful banker, A. P. Giannini. . . . Banker Giannini wants his own Governor. He wants an official who will give him what Governor Richardson has refused to give him, special privileges and favors. If Young is elected, Banker Giannini expects to be the financial dictator of California. This state does not need a Mussolini, financial or otherwise.³⁸

This attack on Giannini came only two days before the election, probably too late to be very effective. Giannini concluded many years later that if the campaign had lasted another two weeks, the Richardson forces would have made such useful political capital out of the participation of the Bank of Italy that the tide would have turned in favor of the Governor.³⁹

On election day, August 31, 1926, the progressive Republicans won a narrow but decisive victory. C. C. Young captured the nomination by only 15,272 votes. He received 327,596 votes to 312,324 for Richardson. The strenuous efforts of the Bank of Italy probably contributed in considerable measure to the success of the progressive campaign.

After the election, congratulatory telegrams and letters poured into

the Bank of Italy. Giannini, in answer to one of the messages, said that the election results represented "great work by our good friends and co-workers, advisory board members, directors, stockholders, officers, and employees."⁴⁰

Despite Young's victory, it still remained to be seen whether the new state administration would honor the pledge of fair treatment to the Bank of Italy. Granting a "square deal" would certainly irritate Giannini's banking rivals and might arouse an adverse public opinion. The future of statewide branch banking was dependent on the decisions of a new, and as yet unnamed, Superintendent of Banks.

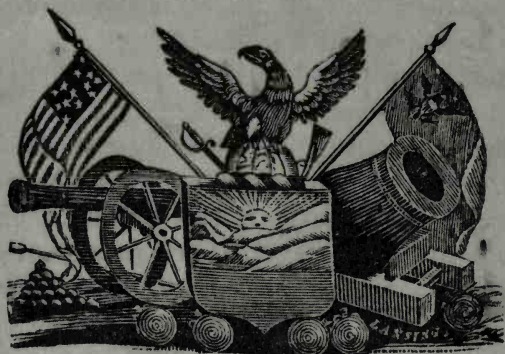
For the post of Bank Superintendent, Governor-elect Young received a number of suggestions, but followed the advice of Franklin Hichborn, who urged him not to be hurried into a decision on an appointment that "is one of the really vital problems of your administration."⁴¹ Young remained silent for several months and did not communicate with the Bank of Italy. An apprehensive but hopeful Bacigalupi wrote to his chief in September:

No, I haven't heard from Mr. Young or any of his aides. Perhaps they don't think much of the battle we waged. . . . Regardless of this I still hold to my conviction that . . . we shall get a square deal.⁴²

Finally, in December, Young asked a professional educator to accept the post of State Superintendent of Banks. He was the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 46 years old Will C. Wood. For several reasons, Will C. Wood appeared to be a good choice for the position. First, Wood had been a political rival of Young and a possible gubernatorial candidate. If Wood had run, he probably would have split the progressive vote with Young, and Richardson would have won. Instead, Wood withdrew and endorsed Young. His loyalty deserved some reward. Second, Wood was seeking more remunerative employment. In the fall of 1926, Wood was elected to a third term as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. However, the educational post only paid \$5,000 a year. Wood wrote to Senator Johnson "the salary of the office is not such as to enable me to keep my family in decent circumstances."⁴³ The Superintendent of Banks received \$10,000 a year. Third, and most important, Wood was not connected with any of the banking factions in the state. The decisions of Wood, an able and forthright individual, would not be as subject to criticism as someone tied in with the major financial interests.

After considering the matter for a month, Wood accepted the post

F. C. G.



July 4th, 1853.

Satin ribbon badge of the First California Guard.

In the Society's Collection.

(See page 359)

THE
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and the decision was made public on January 19, 1927. On taking office the new Superintendent admitted that his job would not be easy:

It is evident that banking opinion in California is sharply divided on certain important issues. It will be no easy task for the Superintendent of Banks to satisfy all banking factions. . . . In spite of the probability that I shall fail to win universal confidence and good will, I shall make the effort wholeheartedly.⁴⁴

The inexperienced Superintendent found himself subject to immediate pressure from the Bank of Italy. There was a real need for a quick decision on the branch banking question. A new banking act, the McFadden Bill, was going through Congress. This bill provided definite advantages for any state bank taking a charter as a national bank. It also stated that any branches held by a national bank on the date of enactment of the bill could be retained. After the bill was passed, branches would not be permitted to a national bank beyond its home city limits. If Superintendent Wood would agree to the creation of a single, unified, statewide system before the McFadden Bill was passed, the Bank of Italy could retain all of its branches upon becoming a national bank.

Will C. Wood, in a long, handwritten memorandum, described the events that followed his appointment.⁴⁵ Immediately on taking office, he conferred with the Governor. Young told him, "I want you to understand I'm not going to be Superintendent of Banks." Wood answered, "Of course, I don't anticipate that you will be." Young informed his department head that he, the Governor, considered himself under obligation to no one as far as the banking situation was concerned. Young felt that the support of the Bank of Italy had harmed as well as helped him. Wood was informed that he was absolutely free to handle the banking problem as he saw fit.⁴⁶ Young said there was no commitment whatever except "the commitment which was published sometime in July or August 1926 that during his administration all banking institutions would be given fair and impartial treatment."⁴⁷

Thus the final power of decision was left in the hands of the new Superintendent. The former educator faced his responsibilities bravely. He wrote, "I was resolved to do what I considered right and let consequences take care of themselves."⁴⁸

During Wood's second day in office, January 20, W. R. Williams and James A. Bacigalupi of the Bank of Italy called upon him. The two men presented an application to merge all the Giannini subsidiaries (the Bank of America of Los Angeles, the Commercial National Bank, the Liberty Bank, and a newly-purchased branch bank, the Southern Trust

Bank of San Diego) into a single banking organization to be called the Liberty Bank of America. In the next few days, the Giannini representatives also presented Wood with applications for 115 new branches in the state, from San Diego to Siiskiyou.

Wood was staggered by the extent of the requests:

I was thunderstruck. . . . I have speculated many times since on their purpose in asking so much. They could not have expected me to grant all they asked. . . . My belief is that they had no hope that all their requests would be granted. . . . They had, in my judgment, followed the old practice of asking for much in the hope that they would put themselves in a better position to get what they felt they were justly entitled to.⁴⁹

The new Superintendent was advised by his office staff to deny the merger application of the Bank of Italy. "It was forecast that I would alienate powerful groups, whatever action I took." Wood sought legal advice from the newly appointed head of the legal division of the department, Albert A. Rosenshine. Rosenshine told Wood that the records indicated that practically every application for bank mergers since 1909 had been granted and that the merger application from the Bank of Italy was in the proper legal order. Rosenshine said that anything done by him, Rosenshine, thereafter depended on the exercise of Wood's discretionary powers. It was still up to Wood to make the decision.

The chief bank examiner, John McNaub, informed Wood that if the merger were denied, the banks would continue to run as independent units, under a Giannini holding company. Wood himself felt that branch banking was preferable to this form of "chain banking."

On the afternoon of January 25, six days after taking office, Wood sat in Albert Rosenshine's office. Across the desk from him sat Rosenshine and two representatives from the Bank of Italy, W. R. Williams and Louis Ferrari. The Bank of Italy men were "visibly agitated" at the news from Washington that the passage of the McFadden Bill was imminent. They wanted an immediate decision on the merger application. The crisis was now at hand. All Giannini's plans depended on the decision of one man, and that man without knowledge of the banking field.

The tenseness of the situation is revealed in Wood's description of the next few minutes:

Here I was, inexperienced in my new office, without technical knowledge of banking, facing decisions on an application that if granted would create a giant

bank. . . . Two men, representing a giant financial interest, sat with eyes fixed on me to catch an intimation of my intention regarding their application. I had been urged to grant it; urged not to grant it. Grave warnings that granting the merger was equivalent to signing my political death warrant had been given by various friends. The Governor had told me distinctly that I was under no obligation to grant the merger. In fact, I had reason to believe that if the application were before him to decide, it would not be granted. All these things flashed through my mind as I sat there, with three pairs of eyes fixed on me.

Wood did not, according to his account, hesitate long:

I brushed aside every factor save the fundamental justice involved and said, "I'm ready to exercise my discretion." There was a slight stir in the room. Williams and Ferrari gave potent evidence of relief. Rosenshine seemed to be saying to himself, "Well, he had the backbone to do it." We went to my office immediately and the necessary documents were signed. The giant merger had been granted.⁵⁰

The documents were signed at 5:30 p.m. on January 25. Representatives of the Bank of Italy held the deputy Secretary of State in his Sacramento office until the papers arrived for certification. The next morning at 9 o'clock, W. R. Williams arrived at Wood's office with the copies of the articles of incorporation, all properly certified.

Thus a single bank, the Liberty Bank of America, was created out of the four Giannini banking systems. The new bank had 136 banking offices and 200 millions in resources. All that remained to complete the merger plans was to consolidate the Liberty Bank of America with the parent organization, the Bank of Italy.

On hearing the news, A. P. Giannini wired happily to his wife, "Consolidated institution expected commence business as such Friday morning. Consider ourselves fortunate to have been able to get what we have in such short space time."⁵¹

Two weeks later, on February 9, 1927, Wood ended the *de novo* rule, originally imposed by Superintendent Dodge in 1921, and strengthened by Superintendent Johnson in 1923. Wood felt the division of the state into rigid banking zones to be unjustified and contrary to the banking laws of California. He said later, "The present Superintendent will not attempt to write into the law a limitation on branch banking which the law clearly does not contemplate or countenance."⁵² The lifting of the restrictions was another triumph for the Bank of Italy.

Only in the applications for 115 additional branch offices did Wood disappoint the Bank of Italy. He only granted the bank 19 offices, all in Los Angeles and in Alameda, where he felt the Bank of Italy had been

discriminated against by former Superintendents. It didn't really matter, since it was unlikely that Giannini seriously thought he could obtain all of the other branch sites. The Bank of Italy probably wanted to put on record the areas for its future expansion, when permitted.

Wood visited the Governor shortly after granting the merger application:

He [Young] received me cordially but remarked that my decision had been made rapidly. He pointed out that some would infer that the approval of the merger would be interpreted as payment of an obligation. However, I gathered he was pleased that the reaction in the press had not been adverse. My statement of reasons for the decision was clear and emphatic, so the press response was not unfavorable.⁵³

On February 14, Superintendent Wood gave his verbal assent to the merger of the Liberty Bank of America with the Bank of Italy. On February 17, the Federal Reserve Board in Washington met privately to consider approving the merger of the Giannini banks.⁵⁴ Two members of the Board were in opposition. One was Adolph C. Miller, who said that Will C. Wood was "absolutely under the control of the Bank of Italy." Miller stated he would not approve under any circumstances. He grew so angry that he finally walked out of the meeting. Another member, Edward H. Cunningham, was also opposed but remained at the session. The other three members present (Edmund Platt, Charles S. Hamlin, and J. W. McIntosh) felt that the Bank of Italy and the Liberty Bank were financially sound and that the proposed merger was no violation of the law. The final vote was three to one (Cunningham voting nay) to approve the merger.

On February 18, notification of the Board action reached the Bank of Italy. Three days later, on February 21, the Liberty Bank of America was taken over by the Bank of Italy. On February 25, President Calvin Coolidge signed the McFadden Banking Act. That same day in a race against the clock, negotiations were completed to nationalize the consolidated Bank of Italy. The Comptroller of the Currency gave his permission and on March 1, 1927, the Giannini institution was granted a national charter as the Bank of Italy, National Trust and Savings Association.

Thus, through a series of swift mergers, Giannini had created the third largest bank in the United States. Only the National City Bank and the Chase Bank, both in New York, were larger. The expanded Bank of Italy now operated 278 branches and had resources in excess of 675 million dollars.

The magnitude of Giannini's triumph can be seen in the following figures. On December 31, 1926, the Bank of Italy had 98 banking offices in California. Only 12 months later, on December 31, 1927, the Bank of Italy had 289 banking offices in the state. Approval had been obtained for an expansion of nearly 300% in one year! This addition of 191 offices was the largest single gain in branches during a 12-month period in the entire history of the Bank of America.

Giannini's victory proved to be a permanent one and opened the way for additional statewide banking systems. After 1927 there was no serious challenge to the concept of statewide branch banking by California authorities. The trend towards concentration in California banking, begun in the 1920's, still continued without abatement a generation later.

NOTES

20. James A. Bacigalupi to A. P. Giannini, July 26, 1926, *ibid.*

21. *Loc. cit.*

22. James A. Bacigalupi to A. P. Giannini, July 27, 1926, postscript to letter of July 26, 1926, Bank of America archives.

23. Kent Parrott to James A. Bacigalupi, July 28, 1926, *ibid.*

24. James A. Bacigalupi to A. P. Giannini, August 2, 1926, *ibid.*

25. Typed summary of A. P. Giannini statement in interview with B. R. James, April 6, 1949, *ibid.*

26. Interview with John Francis Neylan (October 14, 1953).

27. *Loc. cit.*

28. *Branch Bank Hearings, 1930, op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 1472. Testimony of James A. Bacigalupi.

29. Mario Giannini to Leo V. Belden, August 24, 1926, Bank of America archives.

30. Orra Monnette to A. P. Giannini, August 26, 1926, *ibid.*

31. V. Dardi to L. M. MacDonald, August 27, 1926, *ibid.*

32. R. P. Lathrop to A. P. Giannini, September 2, 1926, *ibid.*

33. Leo V. Belden to A. P. Giannini, August 30, 1926, *ibid.*

34. Clipping from *Coast Investor*, November 1926, Bank of America archives.

35. A. P. Giannini to Leo V. Belden, August 30, 1926, *ibid.*

36. *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 1926.
37. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1926.
38. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1926.
39. Typed summary of A. P. Giannini statement in interview with B. R. James, April 6, 1949, Bank of America archives.
40. A. P. Giannini to L. M. Edwards, September 3, 1926, *ibid.*
41. Franklin Hichborn to C. C. Young, September 1, 1926. Copy in the Herbert C. Jones Papers, Stanford University.
42. James A. Bacigalupi to A. P. Giannini, September 7, 1926, Bank of America archives.
43. Will C. Wood to Hiram Johnson, December 7, 1926, *ibid.* Wood's educational papers are at Stanford University while his papers relating to his banking career are in the Bank of America archives. Following retirement from state office, Wood served as vice president of the Bank of America from 1931 until his death in 1939. For a study of Wood as a California educator, see Jeanette A. Vanderpol, "Will C. Wood, School Statesman," *CTA Journal*, v. 50, October 1954, pp. 7-9, and November 1954, pp. 22-25.
44. California Bankers Association *Bulletin*, v. 8 (January 1927), p. 3, for Wood statement.
45. Undated, handwritten Memorandum of Will C. Wood. Context indicates date of composition as sometime in spring of 1927. Bank of America archives.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. Will C. Wood to State Senator M. B. Harris, May 15, 1930, Bank of America archives.
48. Will C. Wood Memorandum, *ibid.*
49. *Loc. cit.*
50. *Loc. cit.*
51. A. P. Giannini to Mrs. A. P. Giannini, January 25, 1927, Bank of America archives.
52. *Wall Street Journal*, March 24, 1927.
53. Will C. Wood Memorandum, Bank of America archives.
54. Information on this meeting obtained from unpublished diary of Board member Charles S. Hamlin for February 17, 1927, pp. 71-76. Charles S. Hamlin Papers, Library of Congress.

“Polished Boot and Bran New Suit”

The California Militia in Community Affairs

By DELLO G. DAYTON

THE VOLUNTEER COMPANIES which organized in California between 1849 and 1866—the substance of the state’s militia system—were not unlike the target and sporting clubs and volunteer fire companies then so prevalent throughout the United States. As a matter of fact some of California’s militia companies traced their origin to these groups.¹ The regularly formed militia companies were organized, regulated, and caparisoned in a military fashion; they had within their ranks many men with military training and experience, and they were liable to military duty upon the call of the state and nation; yet, in their day-to-day activities they were essentially fraternal and social organizations. The companies offered excellent opportunity for fellowship and group association. Their activities—parades, balls, banquets, receptions, and target excursions—lent color to California’s frontier society, gave a good outlet for social expression, and helped introduce the social graces of the more settled societies.²

The volunteer company’s activities ordinarily centered about its meeting place. The company armory was more than a place for the storage of arms and the perfection of military drill. It was frequently a social center, containing club rooms for the relaxation and enjoyment of its members and a drill room readily convertible into a banquet or dance hall. The non-military features associated with the company armory were undoubtedly more than a little responsible for the contributions of time and money that militia members made to have such a meeting place.

The First California Guard built its initial armory by forming a joint stock company exclusively of Guard members, who subscribed to three hundred shares of stock at one hundred dollars each.³ The funds thus raised enabled the company to construct a two and one-half

story building forty feet square.⁴ According to a news item which appeared in a San Francisco paper on February 4, 1850, the "fine drill room, billiard saloons, reading room, etc." of Military Hall, the new armory, were "being elegantly furnished for the exclusive comfort of [company] members."⁵ Several days later the paper made reference to a visit to "the elegant suite of apartments fitted up for the First California Guard" and stated that the drill room of the company was "a magnificent apartment, beautifully furnished and ample for the training of a large body of men."⁶

Not all armories were company-owned, nor were they as commodious and "elegantly furnished" as that of the First California Guard. But militia members endeavored, where possible, to endow their armories, whether owned or rented, with comfortable club features. The armory was a place "to meet the boys" as well as a place to engage in military training.

The celebration of Washington's birthday on February 22, 1850, gave the First California Guard one of its earliest opportunities to participate in a community occasion and its first chance to use Military Hall for a social activity. It so happened that on the day of the celebration the steamer *Oregon* arrived with news from the East. The Guard welcomed its arrival by firing a salute from the Plaza. In the evening the company sponsored a ball and dinner which were well attended by members of the Guard and other San Francisco residents.⁷ Unfortunately, however, there was a slight repercussion within the company as a result of the evening's festivities.

The company Minutes disclose that a special meeting was called on the morning of February 23rd to consider the conduct of a member, Private Walter Cleeman, who, being overcome with "too much punch and exhuberance" the previous evening, had directed insulting remarks to Lieutenant Myron Norton, presiding officer at the ball. The effect of the night's celebration was evidently such as to prevent Private Cleeman from appearing personally at the special meeting, but a letter from him was presented in which he expressed regret that he had been "overpowered by the deep potations in which [he] had indulged in honor of the day" and apologized to Lieutenant Norton and the members of the Guard for the opprobrious terms he had used.⁸ The apology was accepted

and no further action was taken against Private Cleeman. One wonders, however, if the incident had anything to do with his resignation, which came on April 15th.⁹

The First California Guard's participation in the Washington birthday celebration was only one of numerous occasions in which the company was represented during its long and colorful existence. In the absence of other militia units it occupied an extremely conspicuous place in community affairs. It joined with other civic organizations on October 29, 1850, to stage a parade marking California's admission into the Union as the thirty-first state and, in the evening, sponsored a ball as a conclusion to the day's activities.¹⁰ The following year, on September 9th, in connection with the celebration on the first anniversary of California's entrance into the Union, the Guard was given the honor of firing the salute. On the same occasion the company gave an exhibition drill which, according to the press, was "greatly admired by all."¹¹

One of the most gala affairs in which the First California Guard took part was the first semi-annual celebration of the Society of California Pioneers, held on January 1, 1851.¹² The day's festivities began at noon with a colorful procession. In the vanguard of the procession was the Guard. The company was in uniform and, as one contemporary account put it, "never appeared to better advantage."¹³ After the procession the oration for the day was given by Captain John B. Frisbie from an adobe building on the Plaza. In the evening a banquet was held in "spacious Military Hall, which was decorated with the National Flag festooned gracefully about the walls."¹⁴ At the banquet "wine, wit, humor, good feelings, toasts, and speeches ruled the hour."¹⁵ Among the distinguished guests was General Vallejo, who favored the assemblage with a short speech. There followed thirteen prepared toasts alternated with appropriate musical numbers. After the toast to the New Year came "Auld Lang Syne"; the one to California was followed by "Oh, California"; one to the press and express called forth "Get Out de Way"; another to the miners of California initiated "Rock the Cradle, Lucy"; and that honoring the ladies was appropriately followed by "Thou, Thou Reignst in His Bosom." The toast to the volunteer militia was as follows: The Volunteer Militia—The spontaneous effort of the first love of liberty, and the quickening consciousness of the power of self-defense; so was it shown in the colonies of '76, and so it has been seen in the first new state on the Pacific, the minute men of Lexington, and the California Guard of California.

After the tribute to the militia came the "California Guard March."¹⁶

The parades, processions, banquets, and balls were not the only community activities participated in by the First California Guard. In the first year of its existence company members found opportunity to act as fire-fighters. The company Minutes reveal that the Guard helped combat San Francisco's fire of May 4, 1850. The same records indicate that the company incurred expenses for refreshments served other fire fighters.¹⁷ The First California Guard also helped combat the fires which occurred in June and September. During the latter conflagration Military Hall was among the many buildings destroyed.¹⁸

After the disaster in September the First California Guard offered its services as a permanent fire guard. The Board of Aldermen, after some discussion as to possible conflict with fire department activities, accepted the offer.¹⁹ The Guard's service in the new capacity did not, however, prevent the recurrence of fire. On May 4, 1851, the anniversary of San Francisco's second great fire, another started—the fifth experienced by the city in a year and a half. Although unable to prevent the fire, the Guard was not inactive. An article in the *Alta California* on May 7th, referring to the First California Guard, reported:

This soldiery was on duty with full ranks on Sunday and Monday nights, patrolling the city for the purpose of protecting the property of our citizens. Many of their number were gentlemen who had lost their all during the fire or sustained very heavy losses and their promptitude in being out under such circumstances entitles them to great praise from their fellow citizens. This is a source of great pride to us that we have so spirited and excellent a corps who can be relied on in time of need.

The services of the First California Guard in connection with the San Francisco fires were not unlike those frequently performed by the National Guard in a later period. The organization of volunteer fire companies throughout California precluded the need for later militia companies to assume the role of regular fire fighters.²⁰

The unique position which the First California Guard occupied in San Francisco and, for that matter, throughout the state, was of short duration. In 1850 another unit, the Washington Guards, arose in San Francisco, and the Sacramento Guards organized in Sacramento. The following year the San Joaquin Guard was formed in Stockton. In 1852 the San Francisco Blues, Marion Rifles, Empire Guards, New York

Guards, First Light Dragoons, Eureka Light Horse Guard, and National Lancers organized in San Francisco, the Sutter Rifles in Sacramento, and the First Calaveras Guard at Mokelumne Hill in Calaveras County. These units, and the many that came after them, patterned their activities after those of the First California Guard. The influence of the companies was felt in practically all California's communities.

Exchange visits between the state's volunteer companies began in 1852. These were community as well as company occasions. One of the earliest, and perhaps the most publicized, occurred when the Sutter Rifles invited the Marion Rifles to be their guests in Sacramento. On the evening of October 27th the San Francisco company was escorted to the steamer by the First California Guard. After an all-night boat trip up the Sacramento River the Marion Rifles reached the host city. There they were received by the Sutter Rifles and conducted to Orleans House, headquarters while in Sacramento. Following breakfast the Marion Rifles drilled for their hosts. The Sutter Rifles then reciprocated. With the company demonstrations completed, the units were formed into a single organization under the command of Captain F. B. Schaeffer, leader of the Marion Rifles. Then they were drilled as a battalion, labeled by the secretary of the Marion Rifles as the "First California Volunteer Rifle Battalion."²¹

In ceremonies conducted during the afternoon of October 28th the Sutter Rifles was presented a silk flag by John A. Sutter, after whom the company was named. The day's activities were concluded with a reception and military ball held in Orleans House in the evening. The ball was attended by more than five hundred men and women, and, according to one newspaper account, was "the most brilliant affair ever witnessed in California."²² After the ball the Marion Rifles returned to San Francisco by boat.

The Journal of the Marion Rifles reveals that the company was greatly pleased by the treatment accorded it by the Sutter Rifles. An entry of October 29th recorded that "hotel bills, liquor bills, and all sorts of bills were paid in advance, and all we could do, we couldn't spend our money which was pronounced counterfeit." Despite the graciousness of their hosts, the Sacramento trip was not without cost to the Marion Rifles. The ten-piece band which was hired for the trip cost

the company two hundred and twenty-five dollars, and transportation for each man was five dollars. To cover the expenses incurred by the trip it was necessary to assess each member twelve dollars.²³

Early in June, 1853, the Marion Rifles joined the other volunteer companies of San Francisco to plan a military celebration for Independence Day. The Sutter Rifles were invited to be their guests for the occasion.²⁴ On July 3rd the Sacramento company arrived in San Francisco. Its members were met at the dock by the Marion Rifles and escorted to the Mountaineer Tavern for champagne. Thereafter the company was taken to the Oriental Hotel for dinner.²⁵

The following morning the Sutter Rifles joined the San Francisco companies—First California Guard, Marion Rifles, National Lancers, San Francisco Blues, Eureka Light Horse Guard—in the Plaza.²⁶ There the companies engaged in drill, observed by Major General Sutter and his staff²⁷ and many onlookers. The drill was interrupted periodically while the companies visited nearby saloons. The Journal of the Marion Rifles records that the Sutter Rifles were treated to the drinks by both the Marion Rifles and the First California Guard.²⁸

At noon the First California Guard fired a thirty-two gun salute. The volunteer companies then assembled for the parade which had been planned. At one o'clock the formation moved out of the Plaza.²⁹ It must have been a colorful sight as the companies proceeded toward Russ' Gardens, one of San Francisco's favorite spots for social gatherings. Leading the parade was the First California Guard, dressed in uniforms of blue which were trimmed in red to designate artillery, the branch of service under which they were organized. The San Francisco Blues, National Lancers, and Eureka Light Horse Guard also wore uniforms of blue. Those of the two latter companies were trimmed with orange, the ornamentation of the Guard being more lavish than that of the Lancers. Any effect the Lancers lacked in uniform, however, was more than made up for by the long steel lances they carried. The Marion and Sutter Rifles were outfitted in pantaloons and frock coats of green. The coats were ornamented with rifle buttons, velvet trim and shoulder knots, the pantaloons with velvet trim and the headgear with distinctive designations and pompons.³⁰ It was perhaps such a spectacle as the parade which marched to Russ' Gardens that moved "An Old Soldier" to pen the following lines, which he entitled "The Gallant Militia Man":

I

As he marches gay, on a summer's day,
When smiling maids but scan —
The polished boot and bran new suit
Of the young militia man;
In the youthful face and lithesome grace
The thoughtful surely see —
The bud and bloom, the bride and groom,
The foliage of the free!

(Chorus)

To the right about — march on, and shout —
Go it while you can!
Let love and law shout out hurrah!
For the gallant militia man.

II

When the plum'd cockade nods in parade,
And treasure's watchdogs sneer —
At the awkward squad, as the columns plod,
While gamins whoop and cheer;
In the blue and buff, I see in rough
The brawn of a hero heart
And drum beats con: 'You'll need anon
The spirit we impart.'

III

Forevermore each front and fore —
To the right — and on, march on!
Let law control while girls extol
The gallant militia man.
In love and law first freedom saw
The twain that teaches men:
'Let no surcease of slothful peace
Forge your chains again.'³¹

When the military procession reached Russ' Gardens it was drawn up preparatory to receiving the colors. The colors were presented by the

dramatic actress Mrs. Catherine Sinclair, with a speech which the *Alta California* characterized as "one of the most beautiful little gems that ever borrowed the light of such an occasion to reflect diamond-like its many brilliant fires."³² After the presentation speech Major General Sutter thanked Mrs. Sinclair in behalf of the companies. Then a delicious banquet was enjoyed by the military. With the banquet over the militia companies returned to San Francisco and, as was quite customary on such festive occasions, attended a San Francisco theater.³³

Some idea of the expenses of volunteer companies in connection with celebrations such as that staged on July 4, 1853, may be ascertained by observing the costs to two of the companies on that occasion. The Journal of the Marion Rifles indicates that the company spent four hundred dollars for music, two hundred for wine, thirty dollars for servants, fifty dollars for rooms for the Sutter Rifles, a like amount for printing, and seventy dollars for incidental items. Total expenses of the company were one thousand dollars.³⁴ Expenses of the First California Guard were even greater. The Independence Day celebration cost that company one thousand and twenty-three dollars, of which six hundred and thirty-four dollars went for the banquet, two hundred and seventy-five for music, and the balance for costs incidental to the moving of cannon to and from the Presidio and firing them.³⁵ Were records of the other volunteer companies available, they would undoubtedly reveal comparable expenditures.

The exchange visits of the Sutter Rifles of Sacramento and Marion Rifles of San Francisco, although somewhat more showy than usual, were by no means unique. Many volunteer companies entertained other companies, in the smaller as well as the larger localities. Two companies which were frequently hosts to each other at balls and banquets were the Columbia Fusileers and Sonora Greys of Tuolumne County. They were so closely associated in their activities that they were often called "The Inseparables."³⁶

Exchange visits were not alone responsible for the intermingling of the volunteer companies. There were many public occasions in which the units participated together. Celebrations on Washington's birthday, Independence Day, and Admission Day, which in the beginning were graced only by the First California Guard, became annual affairs in

which all existing militia companies took part in their respective communities throughout the state. Participation became so common on July 4th and September 9th that, for the sake of convenience, the militia legislation of 1866 specified those two dates for the official parades of the National Guard, as the militia came to be called after 1866.³⁷

Apart from the usual celebrations there were many special occasions calling for participation by the volunteer companies. For example, on the occasion of the death of Henry Clay the First California Guard, National Lancers, Eureka Light Horse Guard, and Marion Rifles were in the vanguard of the procession which honored the statesman in San Francisco.³⁸ The militia companies were represented in similar processions upon the death of other distinguished Americans or company members.

NOTES

1. For example, the Marion Rifles and National Guard, both of San Francisco.
2. The social and fraternal characteristics did not apply, of course, to short-lived companies organized to chastize Indians or curb lawlessness. Veterans of the Mexican War, many from the New York Volunteers, were the nuclei for the California militia companies.
3. Minutes of the First California Guard, August 25 and October 2, 1849, in possession of The Society of California Pioneers. Hereafter referred to as Minutes. See also Frank Soulé et al., *The Annals of San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1855, p. 703.
4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1884-1890, VI, 188.
5. *Alta California*, February 4, 1850.
6. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1850.
7. *Alta California*, February 23, 1850.
8. Minutes, February 23, 1850.
9. Letter, Cleeman to First California Guard, February 23, 1850, in possession of the Society of California Pioneers.
10. *Alta California*, October 30, 1850. The centennial editions of the Oakland Tribune, September 5, 1950, and San Francisco Chronicle, September 10, 1950, have illustrations of old prints depicting the celebration. Prominent in the prints is a military company.
11. *San Francisco Daily Herald*, September 10, 1851. Two cannons, borrowed from the United States forces at the Presidio, were used to fire the salute. The *Alta California*, September 12, 1851, humorously referred to the salute as "The Salute of a Thousand Guns."

12. Many of the members of the First California Guard were also associated with the Society of California Pioneers. Walter C. Allen and Helen S. Giffen, "A History of the First California Guard, The First Private Military Organization in California," *Publication of the Society of California Pioneers*, 1940, pp. 39-40.

13. *Alta California*, January 3, 1851.

14. *San Francisco Daily Herald*, January 3, 1851.

15. *Alta California*, January 3, 1851.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Minutes, May 4, 1850.

18. Allen and Giffen, *op. cit.*, p. 19. John Simes thereafter built another, supposedly fireproof, armory, but it also burned in a subsequent fire.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

20. *Alta California*, May 7, 1850.

An entry on November 4, 1852, in the Journal of the Marion Rifles indicates that that company sent five hundred dollars to the Sutter Rifles to help those who had suffered loss in a Sacramento fire. The Journal of the Marion Rifles may be found in the California State Library in Sacramento. Hereafter it will be referred to as Journal.

21. Journal, October 21, 27, 29, 1852. See also *San Francisco Daily Herald*, October 30, 31, 1852.

22. *San Francisco Daily Herald*, October 30, 1852.

23. Journal, October 27, 29, 1852.

24. Allen and Giffen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

25. Journal, July 3, 1853.

26. *Alta California*, July 6, 1853; also *San Francisco Daily Herald*, July 6, 1853.

27. Sutter was made a Major General in the California Militia by legislative action on February 16, 1853.

28. Journal, July 4, 1853.

29. *Alta California*, July 6, 1853.

30. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1853; Journal, May 24, 1852.

31. *Golden Era*, December, 1885, p. 552.

32. *Alta California*, July 6, 1853.

33. *Ibid.* San Francisco Hall, Washington near Montgomery, conducted by Mrs. Sinclair.

34. Journal, July 21, 1853.

35. "Vouchers" with Minutes.

36. The National Guard of California, 17 Vols., I, 47. Unpublished compilation prepared by the Adjutant General's Office of California with the assistance of the Work Projects Administration. Hereafter referred to as National Guard.

37. *Cal. Stats.* (1866), p. 730.

38. *Alta California*, August 11, 1852.

New Books

Among the Mormons. Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers. Edited by William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958. xxviii + 482 pp. \$6.75.)

FOR THOSE who suffer from the belief that documentary history is dull or prosaic, here is an effective antidote. The chosen selections have all the interest and flavor of the times. Personalities and events are portrayed in the vivid colors of the contemporary scene. The writers, usually prejudiced for or against the Mormons, give the fire, tolerance, bitterness that characterize in turn the individual observers. The high degree of objectivity attained by the editors is demonstrated in the selections included.

Wide familiarity with the primary contemporary sources for the Mormon story is amply demonstrated in the range of materials presented. Editorial knowledge of the history of the sect is evident in the terse summaries and introductions that give the setting for each piece.

This work encompasses an entire history of the Mormons. From the reputed discovery of the mysterious gold plates and the formation of the "restored Church of Christ" in 1830, the account carries the zealous followers of "the prophet" through the bitter conflicts with neighbors in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois; through the epic trek to an isolated Zion in the Great Basin; and into a gradual adjustment to America of today.

With Biblical connotations, the book is divided into five parts: Genesis, the Times of Joseph Smith; Exodus, the Flight into the Wilderness; Chronicles and Judges, the Times of Brigham Young; Lamentations, Conflicts and Accommodation in Zion; and Psalms, an Era of Good Feeling.

Reports included are by such nineteenth century figures as Josiah Quincy, J. G. Whittier, R. W. Emerson, Horace Greeley, and Mark Twain. Modern observers quoted are Bernardo De Voto, Nels Anderson, Dale Morgan, and Wallace Stegner. The longest quotations are from the mid-nineteenth century humanitarian Thomas L. Kane, "Friend of the Mormons."

One feels the editors' reluctant submission to space limitations that forced a deletion of paragraphs and omission of whole articles. Few will quarrel with the selections retained.

LEROY R. HAFEN

The Newhall Ranch. By Ruth Waldo Newhall. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1958. 120 pp. \$4.00.)

IN *The Newhall Ranch*, Ruth Waldo Newhall undertakes to describe the development of a family company, the Newhall Land and Farming Company, through three generations of a California family. This is a story of one of the great western land empires, and of the amazing career of its founder, Henry Mayo Newhall,

who gathered a fortune in San Francisco with the enterprise and shrewdness of a Yankee merchant and then went on to carve out a princely domain of land and cattle as one of the most real estate minded men of his day. What this suggests, of course, is that Mrs. Newhall has actually written a story lying somewhere between a biography of Henry Mayo Newhall and a history of a California company, which continues today to be a projection of the personality of its founder to some degree.

So it seems proper that the author began the detail of the history of the company with the early San Francisco environment of Henry Mayo Newhall. With enthusiastic imagination, she weaves the story around the auction house of H. M. Newhall & Co., describing the brawling commercial life of the fifties, where overnight fortunes were won or lost, buying and selling the cargoes of a busy port. In this rough and tumble emporium, Newhall flourishes, and after a decade at the auction block, the well-heeled auctioneer-turned-wholesaler is shown erupting in a fury of railroad building that eventually leads to the Big Four and a handsome profit. The author sketches the "railroad era" of her hero, with a sharp eye on the company he kept. Ralston, Donahue, Polhemus are all here, and other less luminous characters who each in their way contributed to making San Francisco the money capital of the West.

The prosperity of the house of H. M. Newhall & Co. continues, and in 1871, an offer of the Rancho El Piojo in Monterey County decides the future of the San Francisco capitalist. From the acquisition of El Piojo, his story becomes an absorbing round up of ranchos that are now historic, and the reader is caught up in that final rush by which the Yankee money lenders displace the rancheros as the owners of the California countryside. The background of the rush and its victims and victors is set forth in swift flashbacks that never break the continuity of the immediate narrative. The main focus is always on Newhall and his lands.

Quite understandably, the days of Rancho San Francisco, the heart of his empire, are presented in full detail. And on the whole, it is a clearly focused, reasonably objective, and extremely useful picture for anyone hoping to understand the whole range of an agricultural era when farmlands were a coveted possession. Moreover, the author has carried the Newhall story down to the present day, discussing the changes in the agricultural landscape which both fascinated and perplexed a generation of Californians. The reader has glimpses of the beginnings of modern farming, that meant the end of the older era of the open range. He shares the agricultural headaches of the twenties and of the thirties. He finds a fascinating account of Newhalls and their associates participating in the long uphill climb of the company to recovery. The author deals with the struggle against debt, surpluses, and low prices. A postscript to the Newhall story also concerns oil, which played a major role in the comeback of the company during the troubled decade of depression.

Occasionally, a factual error creeps in, when the author touches upon the birth

of the California oil industry, which bubbles, simmers, and sputters around Henry Mayo Newhall, while he is acquiring his ranchos with inexhaustible energy. Thomas R. Bard, for example, was not the nephew of Colonel Thomas A. Scott who attempted in the sixties to bring within his sway all of the California countryside that appeared good for oil. Nor was Bard the only agent for the railroad king. Also acting on his behalf was the more skilled and crafty hand of Judge Levi Parsons, a veteran of land squabbles and legal shenanigans in the West. Again, when the author speaks of the "West's first refinery," she is in the realm of legend rather than fact.

But it would be ungrateful to end on a negative note, for on the whole, this is a book to be read by historians and by Californians who know or care about their state's history.

A. E. HAASE

A Flora of San Francisco, California. By John Thomas Howell, Peter H. Raven and Peter Rubtsoff. (San Francisco: University of San Francisco, 1958. 157 pp. \$3.00.)

LOCAL FLORAS in which an accurate and careful record is presented of the plants native to or naturalized in a given area are exceedingly important, particularly in times and regions in which a great population-influx is rapidly changing the area. Such a flora is the one being reviewed. Based on many years of painstaking field work, it shows what is known to grow wild at the present time in San Francisco. Having just completed a book now in press which covers the flora of the state of California, my co-author (Dr. David D. Keck) and I have found recent local floras most helpful as sources of information, particularly concerning occurrence of naturalized plants and data for habitat, elevation, etc., of native species. I have, therefore, only respect and praise for a carefully done local work.

I rate the San Francisco book high in all respects. It has an interesting and informative introduction about the San Francisco peninsula in the past and the history of its botanical study. It has a number of excellent illustrations. The Catalogue of Plants which covers most of its pages includes 608 native species and 53 subspecific taxa and 447 introduced species with 18 of subspecific category. For each plant mentioned there are given scientific and usually common names, habitat, places found and citation of collected specimens that vouch for these records. The large number of introduced plants is extraordinary, many waifs and naturalized species being listed that would not ordinarily be considered as a part of the "wild" California flora. However, it may be well to record such species, even if they survive for but a short time.

I would say that any student of the California flora should have this book available and especially anyone living in the Bay Region. It makes an excellent companion volume to Mr. Howell's Marin Flora.

PHILIP R. MUNZ

West of the Great Divide. Norwegian Migration to the Pacific Coast, 1847-1893. By Kenneth Bjork. (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1958. viii + 636 pp. \$7.50.)

THE NUMBER OF SCANDINAVIANS who migrated to the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain areas was less than those settling the homestead lands of the prairie mid-West. But, unlike their farmer cousins, these people became the loggers, the fishermen, the seamen, members of the labor force and the businessmen, as well as the farmers, in a different kind of migration. They constituted predominantly a secondary movement from the mid-West and not from the "old country," and their problems accompanied them — vicious quarrels of religion, the national conflict of Swede versus Norwegian, and their failures on farms. Yet, in spite of these adversities the Norwegians in the West made an enviable record, and Professor Kenneth Bjork of St. Olaf's College has painstakingly traced both sides of the picture for us.

What has Professor Bjork added to the works of Blegen, Qualey, Semmingsen and other writers on Norwegian immigration? He has taken the Norwegian-language newspapers and combed them for the closer glimpses they afford of immigrants and their settlement. He has carefully sought out church and local records with more diligence than others before him. He has added materials on the West which previous writers failed to use because of preoccupation with the mid-West. He has shown for the first time the impact of these immigrants in the development of the West.

On the other hand, what might be said in criticism of Professor Bjork's work? There is no bibliography. Footnotes are apparently to suffice. There is considerable repetition as he repeatedly relates the story of Norwegian settlements in Oregon and Washington. There is inclusion of relatively unimportant and well-known materials, such as the story of "Snowshoe" Thompson, which could have been reduced.

In spite of these comparatively minor criticisms this study remains a significant contribution whose details and scope cannot be contested. Bjork's *West of the Great Divide* is new, both in content and use of materials, and it is written with verve, drawing the reader into further examination of Norwegian settlement of western America.

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

James E. Birch. By Mary McLennon Galucci and Lt. Col. Alfred D. Galucci. (Sacramento: Sacramento Historical Society, 1958. 37 pp. \$2.50.)

THE SACRAMENTO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, in celebration of the Overland Mail Centennial, has issued its first publication, *James E. Birch*, by Mary McLennon Galucci and Lt. Col. Alfred D. Galucci.

A well-written and scholarly account of the career of James E. Birch covers the years 1849, when at the age of 21 he went to Sacramento and inaugurated his

stage route, to 1857 when Birch was lost in the wreck of the ship *Central America* off Cape Hatteras. At the time of his death he was en route from California to New York to establish the main office of his San Antonio-San Diego line.

The biography is particularly interesting in the colorful picture it presents of early Sacramento. In the life of Birch is epitomized the characteristic vigor, ambition, and drive that contributed to the phenomenally rapid development of the West. A romantic touch is provided by the fact that the main spring of Birch's activity was the desire to make enough money in California to return to Massachusetts and provide a mansion filled with beautiful things for a certain Julia Chase. He married Julia Chase and he did build the mansion before his untimely death at sea.

The Galucci's have made a valuable addition to the story of pioneer California transportation.

The volume is particularly distinguished by handsome typographical design and a beautiful cover and title page, the work of California Historical Society member Lawton Kennedy, who printed the book. A charming daguerrotype of Birch and an old print of his headquarters are reproduced in the book. The foreword is by member Caroline Wenzel, who, with Allan R. Ottley, assisted in preparation of the manuscript and in local research.

WILLIAM WHITNEY

Salt in California. By William E. Ver Planck. *Bulletin 175, Division of Mines, State of California.* (San Francisco: State Printing Office, 1958. 168 pp. \$3.25.)

THIS MONOGRAPH is a part of the vast series published by the Division of Mines and its predecessor, the California State Mining Bureau, since 1888, when an unlikely item, *A Description of the Dessicated Human Remains in the California State Mining Bureau*, was issued. In general, this notable series consists of scholarly studies of minerals important to the state's economic development. It offers a rich resource for historians working with a wide variety of California themes, by no means limited to the economic.

Salt in California is representative of many of the more recent monographs. The author has viewed his subject in several perspectives, chemical, geological, technological, economic, anthropological, and historical, and has supplemented his text admirably with a wide range of charts, maps, tables, pictures, and pictograms. Historians will probably find most rewarding a brief chapter on "Salt in California Indian Culture" (contributed by Professor Robert F. Heizer of the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley) and the author's concluding chapter on the "History of the California Salt Industry," although inevitably a good deal of historical information is also to be found in the more technical chapters dealing with the geologic setting of the industry, the recovery and refining processes, and the distribution of the product.

Mr. Ver Planck shows us how the salt industry of California has developed from the 1850s, when a small amount of rather impure salt was produced com-

mercially by solar evaporation from tidal ponds along the Alameda County shore, until 1953, when California produced more than one million tons valued at more than six million dollars and almost monopolized the market of the Pacific Coast states and Arizona. Through all of these years the industry has continued to be located chiefly along the marshy shores of Alameda County, although in this century it has spread to the neighboring shores of San Mateo and Santa Clara counties and, very recently, to Napa County on the North Bay. As the industry has grown, many of the smaller companies have been consolidated to achieve efficiency until today one company (Leslie Salt) is responsible for more than one-half of the state's output. Smaller quantities of solar salt are produced along the coast near San Diego, Newport, and Moss Landing, and from the surface brine of certain desert lakes, notably Koehn Lake in Kern County. Bristol Lake in San Bernardino County provides some rock salt.

The reader of this monograph who later crosses the southern arm of San Francisco Bay via the San Mateo or Dumbarton bridges will undoubtedly view the landscape with a more perceptive eye.

Mr. Ver Planck has supplied us with a highly informing study.

GERALD T. WHITE

In Memoriam

EDWARD EMORY EBERSTADT

Edward Emory Eberstadt, founder and head of the firm of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, Americana specialist of New York City, died in Madison, New Jersey, on October 2, 1958. He was born in New York on September 9, 1883, the son of Edward Frederick Eberstadt and Caroline Vinton Eberstadt.

He attended Mount Pleasant Military Academy and as a young man worked in gold mines in California, Idaho, and British Guiana. He married the late Anne Lindley Eberstadt of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1907.

In 1908 he started the firm of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, antiquarian book-sellers, which he led to the position of preeminence it occupies today in the field of Americana. His two sons, Lindley and Charles have been associated with their father in the firm for many years and undoubtedly will continue the business.

Edward Eberstadt was known throughout the scholarly world as a keen student of western history and served for many years as adviser to Yale University's notable collection of Western Americana. All of the great collections of Western Americana of recent years, such as the Henry E. Huntington, Thomas W. Streeter, Everett D. Graff, and many others have benefited from his interest and advice. Many of the finest and most precious items in the library of the California Historical Society were supplied by Edward Eberstadt to C. Templeton Crocker, who, with Henry R. Wagner, revived the Society in 1922, and whose library was the foundation on which the Society's present library has been built. The most notable instance, probably, of service to a collection by Edward Eberstadt was to that of William Robertson Coe, now in the Library of Yale University. He contributed notable historical materials to this collection and established a fund for the publication of works based on the materials in the collection.

He became a member of the California Historical Society in 1922, with an application sponsored by his friend and customer, C. Templeton Crocker. In 1931 he published in the *Quarterly* an account of the Journal of Riley Root. He was a member of many other historical and learned societies and a frequent contributor to their publications.

GEORGE L. HARDING

ALEXANDER S. KEENAN

When Alexander S. Keenan, M.D., passed away on October 19, 1958, at the age of 86, we lost not only a prominent physician and surgeon but also a conscientious and beloved civic leader.

Born in Sonoma County in 1872, educated at the University of Santa Clara and graduated University of California Medical School class of 1898, he was a great-nephew of Peter and James Donahue and married Laura Maguire who was a niece

of Mrs. Peter Donahue. Dr. Keenan practiced medicine in San Francisco for 54 years, he was a member of Mary's Help Hospital Staff and the Medical Advisory Board of the Medical Foundation of America, Ltd., a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons, President of the San Francisco Medical Society, President of the Santa Clara Alumni Association and was honored by an Honorary L.L.B. degree from that University.

Dr. Keenan being of keen mind and with his vigorous personality became active in public life when Mayor James Rolph appointed him to the Board of Public Health in 1927. He served as Health Commissioner, Library Commissioner and Medical Director of the San Francisco Employees Health Service System for 12 years. He had been an honored member of the California Historical Society since 1927 and also took an active part in the affairs of the Commonwealth Club, Olympic Club, Knights of Columbus and the Native Sons of the Golden West.

He is survived by two sons, Alexander S. Keenan, Jr., Attorney and Counselor at law, Dr. Peter J. Keenan, Physician and Surgeon, and two daughters, Mrs. Wallace Sheehan and Mrs. William A. Carroll.

PAUL WIENHOLZ, M.D.

ARTHUR E. CORDER

Arthur E. Corder of Oakland, who passed away on April 10, 1958, was an honored member of the California Historical Society and one who took a keen interest in its activities and progress and made substantial contributions towards its advancement. He was keenly interested in the Society's acquisition of a permanent home, for during a long period the Society faced many difficulties and never enjoyed the luxury of a home of its own until the last two years.

Arthur Corder was born in Smartsville, Yuba County, California, and was brought to Oakland by his parents when, six weeks following his birth, they moved into their home at Twelfth and Oak streets. He went to work for his father in the wool business immediately after graduation from Oakland High School. Mr. Corder was survived by two daughters — Mrs. Florence Witter, wife of Wendell W. Witter, a partner in the Dean Witter & Co. investment firm, and Marian L. Corder of Oakland.

Since 1927 he was president of T. W. Corder, Inc., a wool processing and trading firm, and was active in the direction of the business until his death in 1958. Mr. Corder was also a director of the San Pablo branch of the Bank of America, a trustee of Mountain View Cemetery, a member of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, the Athenian-Nile Club of Oakland, and St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Oakland. He was very active in Masonic circles, including Oakland Lodge 188 F. & A. M.; Scottish Rite Bodies; Oakland Commandery of Knights Templar; Aahmes Shrine Temple; also a member of Oakland Lodge of Elks.

Thomas W. Corder, the father of Arthur E., was a native of England, born in London in 1844. In 1854 he came to California and first located with his family

in Butte County, where later he engaged for a time in the mines, but like many others, not meeting with the success anticipated, he conducted a boarding house for the miners. Returning to Marysville Mr. Corder again engaged in the wool business and managed the same profitably in that city until 1870, when he went to San Diego. There he followed the same line of work for three years. In 1873 he established in Oakland his wool business, which he managed until his death in 1887.

In 1906-07 the Corders erected the building now occupied by the Oakland Tribune at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Franklin streets. The building was first rented by the Breuner Furniture Co. from 1907 to 1917. The structure was six stories and was occupied as the sixth home of the Oakland Tribune from March 25, 1918, to the present day. In 1924, to the west of this original Corder building The Tribune Tower of twenty stories was erected and joined with the main office building, and additions acquired to the south on Twelfth Street.

Arthur Corder had a host of business, church and fraternal friends in the Bay Region. As a citizen he was active in many movements for the development and progress of Oakland and the State of California.

J. R. KNOWLAND

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NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Dr. Jan Albert Goris, who is a member of the Royal Flemish Academy, has been Commissioner of Information for Belgium in the United States since 1941. He received his doctorate in Historic Sciences at the University of Louvain in 1925. A varied and distinguished career includes having served as: Assistant to the Mayor of Antwerp, Director of the Fine Arts Department of Antwerp, and Adjunct-Professor at New York University: Benelux Chair. Dr. Goris has published on historical, artistic, and literary subjects in Dutch, French and English.

Dr. Dello G. Dayton is Chairman of the Social Science Division of Weber College, Utah. He received his B.S. degree from Utah State University, and his M.S. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of California at Berkeley. Dr. Dayton was in the Armed Services from 1941 to 1946, having entered as Second Lieutenant and being released as Major. He was also Historian with the Allied Land Forces in France from 1952-1954.

Dr. W. Barclay Stephens has long been interested in Time. Originally from Paris, Kentucky, William Barclay Stephens, ophthalmologist and otologist, received his M.D. degree from Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1893 and the same year began practicing in San Francisco. He retired in 1938 but resumed professional activities during World War II to carry on the practice of his sons, specialists in the same field, who were in the Armed Forces. Dr. Stephens is Honorary Curator of horology at the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco and is the author of numerous articles on timepieces and time.

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